The supplica-
tion of doctour Barnes
vnto the moost gracy-
ous kynge Henrye
the eyghe with
the declara-
tion of his
articles
condē-
ned
for heresy by the
byshops.

G.R. III.
B.R. MUS.

ous prince Henry the eyghte.

¶ Grace and peace from God the father of our sauiour Jesus christ be with your most noble and excellent grace for euermore Amē.



M most hūble wise complayneth vnto your grace your continual Oratour Robert Barnes, of the intollerable iniuries, wronges, and oppressyōs, wherwith certayne bysshops of your realme vexe and haue vexed, cōtrary vnto ꝑ worde of God, and their owne lawes and doctours, not onelye me, but also all true preachers and professours of the same incondempninge them for heretykes; as they dyd me, which thing they were not able to proue by the scripture of God, nor yet shall, yf it wouldbe please your grace indifferently (according to the office, wherin God hath set you) to here the small as well as the great, and to sustayne your poore oratour agaynst their violence and strength.

God I take to recorde, that I am right sory to make this complaynt vn to your grace against them, yf I could conieete anye other meane to cause them to redresse their intollerable oppressions, wherin they dayly oppresse your poore and true subiectes, so sore and so vyolently, that without doute (yf your grace se not shortly a remedy) God must nedes punysh. For I do not beleue yt euer he wil suffer lōg so great tyrranny against his worde, and so violent oppression of true christen men, as they do now vse, & that in the name of Christ, and his holy church. For verely we do not rede in any memories, that our fathers haue left vs, that euer the people were vnder so great tyrannye, as nowe your poore subiectes be vnto them. Now it is so farre come that whatsoeuer he be, hye or lowe, poore or ryche, wyse or folysshe, that speaketh against them, and their vycyous lyuing, he is either made a traytor vnto your grace, or an heretike against holy church, as though they were kynges, or gods. This maye youre moste excellent grace perfitly knowe, yf you call to remembraunce those good men that they haue had to do with. Is it

not

not a meruelous court that they haue? wherin there was neuer man accused of heresy, were he lerned or not lerned but they found him giltie. Is not that a meruelous courte, that neuer hath innocentes? what court within youre realme may saye this agayne? And yf any man speake of Gods lawe & ryght conscyence, against this damnable tyranny, lytle wyll they sticke to make him an heretyke. And yf that wyl not helpe, to colour and mayntaine their oppression, than adde they treason agaynst your grace, though he be neuer so true a subiect. and all only helpe to make any resystance, or to thynke any euyll vnto your grace.

¶ Now yf it please your grace, let vs considre to what ende this vncharitable & vnrighteous accusacyon of the bysshops, ye rather of the deuyll is inuented.

¶ Fyrst yf there be any man þ preache, dispute, or put forth in wrytinge anye thinge not touchinge them, thoughe it be neuer so blasphemous againste god the blonde of Christe, and his holye worde, they wyll not ones be moued therwith, the examples therof are so playne, that it nedeth no prose. youre

grace may se what blasphemous rubykes they alowe agaynst the bloude of Christ, what shamfull and abhomynable pardons they tollerate & admyt, what disputations they do maintaine to proue the pope a god and no man. hauynge these wordes. That the pope is nother god nor man. And whether the pope can synne or not. And that no man can cõdempne the pope, thoughe he bring innumerable soules to hel by his occasion. Agayne, let vs consydre, ꝑ yf any man but ones speake againste their cloked ypocrisy, or against neuer so lytle a thynge that longeth to them by the whiche their abhominations shulde be dysclosed. And we shall euydently perceiue that ther can no scripture, no place, no master shyppe, nor excuse in the worlde saue, but he must eyther to open shame, or cruel death. So ꝑ it is playne that they crueltie serueth to none other ende, but as they shoulde say, yf that any man wyl take in hande to preache the veryte, & the true gospell of their mayster Christ purelye, whereby those wynnynges shulde be dympynished, wherwith we mayntayne, oure honoure, oure dignitie, our worldy promotions, our delicyous

In vi. chap no in vers o papadist l.ca.fi. pa.

tyons liuing, our gorgious apparell, our sumptuous palaces, our lordships breuely al thinges that we vse to our pastime & pleasure, shulde be manyfest to al men, þ we not only get these thinges by falsse fayned holynes in deceyuyng and robbyng the people of their goodes, but also the dispending of thē to be abhominable, and cōtrary to the ordinance & word of god. ¶ Nowe rather than this shuld come to passe, we had leuer gather our strength together and oppresse by violence as manye as wyll holde with this learninge, be he kynge, duke, lorde, baron, knight, man womā, or chyld. So þ by their practise it is euident to al that wilse: that it is they þ go aboute to make insurrection to the mayntayning of their worldlye pompe, and pryde, and not the true preacher, for he entendeth to maintaine nothing, but to bringe to lyght the moste glorious and heuenly worde of God, whichby them hath ben darkened and kept vnder, and that with suffringe persecution (as the nature of the word is) & not with persecuting, for he maketh no striuing (yf he be the trew preacher of God) nor fightynge for this world, but suffreth the chyldren of the

worlde to enioy these worldly thinges Notwithstandinge they are not asha-med thus falsely to lay it to the preachers charge, & al because they wolde make your grace to maintayne their malycyousnes, So that vnder the pre-tence of treason, they myght execute the tyrannie of theyr hertes. For who is that that woulde be a traytoure, or mayntayne a traytour agaynst youre most excellent & nobie grace: I thinke no man, ye and I knowe surely that no man can do it, without the displeasure of the eternal God. For saynte Paule Roma: xiiii comaundeth straytly vnto all chrysten to be obedient in all thinges: on thys maner: Lett euery man submytte hym selfe to the auctorite of the hye power For who soeuer resysteth the power, resysteth the ordinãce of god, And they that resist, shal receaue to them selues dampnacion. Also saynt Peter confor- 1 Petri ii meth this, saying: Submit yourselues vnto all maner ordinaunce of man for the lordes sake whether it be vnto the kynge, as vnto the cheefe heed, eyther vnto dukes, as vnto them that are sent of hym for the punyshmente of cuyll doers but to ye praise of them that do well. Wherfore yf euery man had the scrip-

scryptures (as I wold to god they had to iudge euery mās doctrine, thā were it out of question, that the preachers therof, either wolde or coulde make, or cause to be made any insurrection a gaynste their prince: seinge the selfe same scriptures straitely cōmaundeth all subiectes to be obedyente to their princes, as Paule witnesseth, sayng: warne them, sayth he) that they submyt them selues to princes and to powars, and to obey the officers.

¶ Nowe howe can they that preache and exharte all men to this doctryne cause any insurrection, or disobedīēce agaynst their prince. But let vs go further, and consyder the preachers, whiche onely haue preached the worde of God, and marke if euer they were occasion of disobedience, or rebellyon against princes.

Fyrste call to mynde the olde prophetes, & with a syngle eye iudge yf anye of them either preuely or apertly sturred vp the people agaynste theyr prynces.

Loke on Christe, yf he submytted not him selfe to the hye powres. Payd he not tribute for all he was free, and caused Peter lykewyse to paye. Suffe

red

ced not he with all pacyence the punyshementes of the princes: ye deathe most cruel, all though they dydde him open wronge, and coulde fynde hym gyltye in no cause.

¶ Loke also of the Apostles, whiche both taught and wrote the doctrine of christ, and in their lyuyng folowed his steppes, and yf euer they stirred by any occasion ỳ people against their princes, ye yf they them selues obeyde not to all princes, although the most parte of them were Tyrauntes and infideles.

¶ Consider lykewise those doctours, whiche purely and syncerely hath handled the worde of God, either in preachynge, or wryttinge, yf euer by theyr meanes any insurrection or disobedyence rise among ỳ people agaynst their princes, But you shal rather fynd, that they haue ben redy to lay downe their owne heddes, to suffre with al pacięce what so euer tyrannye any power wold minister vnto them, geuynge all people example to do the same.

¶ Nowe to conclude, yf neither the scriptures, neither the practise of the preachers therof teacheth, or affyrmeth that ỳ people may disobey their

prynces

princes, or their ordinaunces, but contrary wise teacheth all obedience to be done vnto them, it is playn that those bysshops or rather papistes, do falsely accuse those true preachers and subiectes. Which thing wolde appere in euery mans sight, yf by their violence, the worde of God were not kept vnder.

¶ Now is this the doctrine that I do preache, and teach, and none other, as concerning this matter, God I take to recorde, and all my bokes and writynges that euer I wrot or made. And only I alowe and fauour them, whiche fordereth this doctrine of Christ, and of this I am sure myne aduersaries. or rather aduersaryes to Christes doctryne, must beare me wytnes,

¶ But now as we haue breuelye touched the doctrine that the true preachers prech to ỹ people, both by worde wrytinge and practise of them. So let vs somewhat touche the doctrine and practyse of the pope, and the papisticall bysshops, and than let euery man seke out the heretikes, and traytours to their prynces.

¶ Fyrst, where the preachers onely of the worde of God, preachethe and teacheth al men to obey their princes. and

they

their ordynaunces accordynge to the wordes of sayncte Peter. There the pope and the papisticall bysshops, contrary vnto the mynd and facte of saynct Peter, expoundeth saynct Peters wordes sayinge: that saynct Peter meaned not hym selfe, nor his successors, but his subiectes. And by this faulse interpretacion excludeth him selfe with his, from al obedience to princes. And yet not so content, but craftely drawynge alother subiectes, from the obedience of their prynces, sayth to them also that the wordes of saynct Peter were not spoken as a cõmaũdement, but as a counsell.

In. vi libe. i titulo. xxxvi de maiori obedientia capitulo, solite

And by this craft, yf any prynce espye his falsed, and of conscience go aboute to reproue hi, than by his false preachers, and mayntayners of hym, he lyghtly withdraweth the hertes of the commune from their prynce, affyrmynge the commaundement of God to be but a counsell. And at the least wise his auctorite to be sufficient to dispence with all the cõmaundementes of God. And thus (the people beynge ignoraũt because they lacke the worde of God to iuge euery doctrine by) they delude their wyttes.

And

And yf anye man that perceaueth
theyr craftes, of very loue that he hath
to god and his cõmandementes, exhor-
teth the doctryne of those papistes by
the worde of God. Anone they laye
heresy vnto his charge, leynge for the
there gods law, sayinge: No man maye
iudge ye pope, no mã may also gyue sẽ-
tence aboue his iudgement, but he shal
iudge all men vpon earth.

the doctrine of the papist dist. xl c. Si appa ix. q iii ca. Cuncta, xxx q. i. capi. Idcopertmt In, vi. ii, ii defen. die, ie, in die, xv. q. vi. cap Illus

Item, the seat of Rome gyueth stre-
gth and myght to all lawes but it is
subiect to none.

Item, that the subiectes may be dis-
obedient to their owne lordes, that he
may depose kynges.

Item, that he hath auctoritie to
breake al othes, bondes, and obliga-
tions made betwene any man of hye,
or low degree.

Item, that the pope hath power to
interprete, declare, and to laye forthe
the holy scripture after his owne wyt
and to suffre no man to expound it con-
trary to his pleasure.

xxxvi. q. capit Quoniam

Item, that the pope is a God vpon
earth, ouer al, heuenly, earthly goostly
and worldly and he is all his owne, &
no man may saye to hym what doeste
thou?

In.b.decoe. pzeb.cap.ad apostolat? in verbo cō tinetur. xl. si papa

¶Item, though the pope were so cur that he led innumerable men by grea hepes to hell, yet shal no man repzou hym therfoze.

¶Nowe after that they had sytten i the consciences of men with these and suche lyke abhominable doctrynes, a had excluded men the scriptures, a an vnlawfull thinge to haue in thei mother tong, lest they should espy thei dissaitfulnes. Then as men past shame beinge both without feare of God and mā, spared not to put in execucīō thes abhominable doctrines, in so moche they deposed openly Princes, and Em perours, re & assoyled all their subiec tes from the obedience of thē, the com maundemēt of god not regarded. Bu that my wozdes should the better ap peare to all men, I shal recite some o thezr practise, both oute of autentyke crowniales, and oute of thezr owne lawe.

xb questi vi Vitus item

Zacharias dyd depose the kynge o Fraunce, not all onely foz hys iniqui tie, but also bycause he was vnprofita ble foz so great a power, and set in his stede Pipinū the emperours father, & dyd assoyle all Fraunce of thezr othe and allegiaunce, that they had made

vn-

vnto the olde kyng. The which thing the holy chutche of Rome doth oftetimes, by her auctoritie. &c

¶ Now wolde to God your grace ernestly wolde loke on this lawe, or at ye least, to suffre & gyue the word of god into the handes of youre subiectes, to compare the obedience, that these men bothe preache and practise, to it. But fayne woulde I knowe of thē all, who hath deposed any kynge syth Christes passion, saynge they onely? who will be kynges felowes, ye and controllers saynge they onely? Is not this a subtyle craft of Antichrist, to warne other men of heretykes, and of traytours, & in the meane season, whyle men stāde lokynge for traytours, cōmeth he in & playeth the parte of an open traytour, saynge onelye that he colourethe his name, and calleth hym self a trewe bis shoppe, and is readye to accuse other men of treason, that he myghte escape him selfe, but he is sure, that he will neuer accuse none of them that speake against the auctoritie of princes, But yf any man do begynne but to open his mouthe, for to declare that he hath no tempozall power, than crageth he, and cryeth out treasō, treasō. But let vs re

turne

turne to their lawe, and se howe they can proue it by gods worde, & howe it standeth with their true subiection. Is this reasonable, that the pope, and they (beyng by gods lawe, but subiectes, shall depose a kinge, What example haue they of our mayster Christe, or of any of his Apostles. What scripture haue they to helpe them. Howe dare they be so bolde, as to depose a kynge, which is ordeyned of God, yea by his holy worde, hauynge none example, nor scripture for them. Be they aboue God and his blessed word. But they wyl say, þ the kynge was a wycked man, I answer, the cronicles gine contrary wytnes, how that he was a very good man and right symple. And because he was so symple, therfore Pipinus, which had all the rule vnder hī thought him selfe better worthye to rule thā the kynge, so wrote by a byshop, & by hys chaplayne vnto þ pope & desyred hym to geue sentence, whether he was better worthye to be a kynge, that had all the paynes & labours, or he that had no labour nor could do nothyng. Nowe the pope, to make Pipinum his frende, and trust kynge by that meanes to haue helpe of hym

agaynst

against the emperour, with whom he had thã variance, gaue sentence with hym, and deposed the other, & made hī a monke, and that this failed shoulde not be perceaued, they fayned that the kynge had ben a monke afore, called Samuell. This can I proue by good cronicles, ¶ Now let your noble grace consider, yf it were ryght, not onely to depose such a kynge, but also to make hym a monke: This haue they done vnto other noble kynges, And no doubt, but that same or worse, wyll they attempt to do vnto your grace, if you displease them, and at the lest they wyl do their vttermost. Let all the hole rable of the tell your grace, when a true preacher of Christes gospell dyd suche a deede. Ther is no officer that hath nede to be afrayde of Christes gospell, nor yet of the preachers therof, But of these pre ny traytours, can no man be to ware, But let vs graunte them, that ꝑ kyng was a wycked mã, The scripture commaundeth vs, to obey to wicked prynces, and geneth vs none auctoritye to depose them, as their owne glose testifieth vpon this texte Subdite estote. Who was more wycked than Herode and yet sayntt Johu suffred death vn

we ought not to depose a kyng though he be wycked

der him. who was wickedder then Pilat. And yet Christ did not put him downe but was crucified vnder him. Bicuply, which of al the pryuces were good in the Apostles dayes? and yet they deposed none. So that gods word and their owne lerning, and the practise of our maister Christ, and his holy Apostles, are openly against them. Moreouer their owne glose saith, that he was not deposed, because he was insufficient, but because he was wanton and lecherous with wemen. O my lordes, yf you be not afrayed of the vengeaunce of God, at the least take a lytle shame of the worlde vnto you, that haue so long tyme with so great tyrannye defended these lawes, that be so openly against gods ordinance, against Gods word & against ꝑ cõmẽ ordinance & consẽt of al ꝑ world. And this haue you done to ꝑ great iniury of noble prices, to ꝑ intollerable subduing of al noble blud, to the oppressyõ of their true subiectes, to the destruction of all common welthes, and tynallye to the euerl astinge damnacyon of manye a christened soule. Telme by your faith do you beleue that there is a kynge GOD that is mighty to punnish his

1, petr, ii,

ene-

enemyes, yf you beleue it, say vnto me can you deuyse for to auoyde his vengeaunce, whiche be so openlye contrary to his worde, what answer thinke you to make to hym. Thinke you that he wyll suffre your worde to be herde and let his godly worde be dispised, Thinke you that it wyll be sufficient for you to saye/that they be the lawes of holy chutche. Thinke you that he wyll be thus taught of you. Than were it tyme to pluck him downe and sette you vp, Naye my lordes he is no childe/nor you shall fynde it no childes game, thus to trifle and play with his holy worde, and his blessed ordinaunce, ye and that to the dispisinge of the maker both of heauen & earthe. Say what ye wyll, ye are not able by no lerninge, to defende this matter, neither afore God, nor yet afore oure noble prynce, nor afore any man of learnynge, that wyll be trewe to hys prince, For which waye soeuer you turne you/our mayster Christ and all his blessed Apostles be agaynst you & wyll openly accuse you that you be contrary to their worde/and to their dede. Answer you to them / answere not to me. if I hold my peace/they will

speake. Nor it wyll helpe you but lye=
rie, to crye after your olde maner, he=
resye, heresye, a traytour a traytoure.
for nowe you crye against your selues,
and of those thinges Christe and
his Apostles do accuse you. Do you
thinke it with the ordinaunce of God
that you shall depose a kynge, because
he liueth in adultery, or is a lecherous
man. yf you thinke it a lawfull cause,
why do you not preach it openly. Why
do you not lay it to kynges charges.
why suffre you them to be kynges, ꝑ
lyue in aduoutry, why do you not put
your lawes in execucion. you say they
be the lawes of holy churche, & therby
may you depose princes. But yf you
wyll put them in execution, then were
it muche better. to be a byshoppe, or a
preist, than to be a kynge, or a duke.
For you may lyue in whoredome, or in
any other vngratious lyuynge, ye and
that to the destruccion of many mens
soules, and yet no man so hardy to re=
preue you, as your owne lawe doth o=
penly commaunde in these wordes. If
the pope do draw with hym innumera
ble people on a hepe to the deuyll of
hell, there to be punyshed forcuer, yet
shall no mortal mā presume to reprcue

Dist. in. xl. ci papa.

his

his synnes, for he must iudge al men, and may be iudged of no man, &c. Like wyse haue you another lawe in youre decretales, that no laye man maye reproue a prist. &c, Howe thinke you by these lawes, yt they be not of the deuil tel me what is of the deuyll. you wyll both reproue, yea and also depose princes, but you wyll neither be deposed, nor yet reproued of any mortall man. What thynke you your selues, Gods. But and ye will depose kynges for fornication, how would you handel kinge Dauid, and kinge Salomon, wold you depose them because of aduoutry. So do you more than the prophet Nathan durst do. Breuelye wyll ye be contente that the kinge shal depose you for fornication, then shall we shortlye be ryd of the moost part of you.

Wherefore is written ex lapsis Et sic in.

Dauid. Salomon. Nathan.

¶ But let vs come to Herod, that kept his brothers wyfe, wolde you depose hym therfore. Than do you more than saynt Iohn durst do, For he durste no more do, but reproue his vice, and dare you depose hym. But let vs go forthe with your lawe. what auctoritie had ỳ pope and you to sette Pipinum in that roume, and not rather to let the kynge dome chose them a kynge, Our master

Herode.

Christ

Christ sayde, his kyngedome was not of this worlde. But you wyll be aboue kynges in this worlde. & not all onlye depose them, but also set in newe at your pleasure. Moreouer by what auctoritie dyd the pope dispence with the royalme of their othe, your law sayth that the holy churche of rome is wont so to do: I praye you of whome hathe she learned this same wont, who hath giuen her this auctoritie, Can she discharge vs of our obediēce that we owe to our princes, Is not this of the lawe of god. Standeth it not also with the lawe of nature. yea do not turkes and infidels faithfully obey to their pryn=ces. Is not the prynces powre of god, and wyll you depose this powre, or can you dispence with this lawe. Saynte Peter learneth you, that you are more bound to obey God & his law, than mā but you lytle regarde saynt Peters sai enge, Wherfore what say you to your owne lawe, whose wordes be these. we muste kepe vnto prynces and powers faith and reuerens. &c. My lords here you not, fidem, & oportet. And howe come you with your dispensacion, for our othe, and say. non oportet that we are not bound to be obedient to our pri=ces

Act 5.m.b.

xxiii. b. v. re gum officiū

ces, yf you dispence with vs. How ca
you dispence with vs of our oth, seing
it is against gods lawe, Here may ma
se, what teachers you haue ben, and al
so be towarde god, and hys holye apo=
stles, and toward your noble princes.
And that this thinge may be clearelye
knowen, I shal recite an other practise
of yours. Our cronicles maketh mē
cion, that in the tyme of Edwarde the
thirde, pope Urban dyd depose Perse
kynge of spayne, because he was a by
cyouse lyuer, & set in his stede one Ha
ry a bastarde. Howe thinke you, stan=
deth this facte with Christes doctrine
whiche of vs all that preache the gos=
pell, hathe gone aboute to doo princes
suche a byllany, you do the dede, and
laye the blame to vs. Do you not remē
bre, how that in the dayes of Harye ỹ
fourthe, a captayne of youre churche,
called Aychard Scrouse, archbyshop
of yorke, dyd gether an hoste of men,
and waged battayle agaynst his kinge
but GOD the defender of his ruler,
gaue the kinge the victory, which cau
sed the traytour to be hedded.

An. M. ccc
lxvi

Wisshoppe
of yorke,

And than your forefathers with their
deuyllyshe craftes, made the people
beleue by their false cronicle, that at
euery

euery stroke that was gyuen at the by
shops necke, the kynge receyued an o-
ther of God in his necke, And wher as
the kynge was afterwarde stryken w
a syckenes, you made hym, and all his
subiectes beleue that it was Gods pu
nysshment, because he had kylled the
bysshop. And not thus cõtent, but you
fayned after his deth, that he dyd my-
racles. Is not this to much, both to be
traytours to your kynge? and also to
fayne god to be displeased with youre
kynge, for punisshement of treason, fy
nally to make hym a saynte, and also
that god had done myracles to the de-
fendynge of his treason, How is it pos
sible to inuent a more pestilent doctrin
than this is. Here is Gods ruler dys-
ppysed, and herby is open treason main
tayned: Thynke you ỳ god wyll shewe
myracles, to fortifye these thynges.
But no doubte the prouerbe is trewe,
suche lyppes suche lactuse, suche sain
tes suche myracles. Here were manye
thinges to be saide, but I wyll passe it
ouer I am sure you do remembre how
obediently you draue kynge Iohn out
of his kyngdome, And the very origy-
nall of the strife was, bycause there
were .iiii. bysshops of England at vari-
aunce

Kynge Iohn

aunce with the kynges grace, and by-
cause he requyred a dyme of the pyed
monkes of England, for to mayntaine
his warre againste the yrishe men, but
they would gyue hym none. Where-
fore after the kynge had sped well in
yrelande, he reuenged hym of the mon
kes, and toke of euery place a certain.
For the which thyng your forefathers
mayntayners of your deuelysh doctrin
wrote vnto their god the pope, & caus-
ed hym fyrst to excommunicat ỹ king
and afterward to interdite the lande,
and gaue it to the french kynges sonne
whiche was mayntayned thorough your
your fathers, and your naturall kyng
compelled to fle into walles, and ther
to tary tyll the tyme that he was con-
tent to make agreement with your holy
ydole the pope. The condicions of the
agreement were, that he shuld fyrst giue
xl. M. marke to the .iiii. byshops, and
make restitucion to the pyed monkes
agayne, and also shulde gyue to Pan-
dolphus, ỹ popes lygate a great some
of money. Fynally, he should be bound
to geue yerely to the pope of Rome a
certayne great somme of mony. and he
and all his successours shulde receiue
the lande of the pope, and holde it in
fee

see seeme, and vnto this your fathers set their handes, and seales, byndinge them selues to compelle the kynge to kepe this contracte. But yet you were not so contente, but afterwarde you founde the meanes þ this good kynge was poysoned by a traytorous monke of Swynyshed, bycause he shulde saye that he wolde make a halfepeny loofe worth xx s, yf he lyued a yere. For the whiche worde your holye monke was moued, and wente and confessed hym selfe to the abbot, how that he wolde poyson the kynge for this and the one deuyll, as good as the other, the holye traytoure absolued the holye murtherer before the dede was done, and for this holy murtherer is ther found v. masses for euer. This is the blessed obedience of your holy church. Howe wolde you crye, how wold you yaulpe yf we hadde handled a gentylmans dogge on this fashion, but you can cal vs poore men trayters, & in the meane season, you bringe both kynge & kynge dome, into seruitude and bondage.

What is treason. yf, this be no treason to bringe so honorable a kynge, and his lande into suche bondage and to compell hym to receiue his natural and free kyngedome, of suche a vylla-

nye

nye, and lymme of the deuyll. what can be sayde or thoughte to defende this matter you haue not al only done wronge to the kinge, but vnto the yongest chylde that lyethe in the cradell, the which by your meanes is bounde. And thinke it not sufficient, to saye that it is not your dede, for first you ar the chyldren of these fathers, and you alwais alowed this act. This hath be blased, blowen preached, and cryed out, & all your bokes full of thys matter, and many a true mans blood hath bene shedde for speakyng against this And yet was there neuer none of you, that euer dyd preache against this dãnable facte: but with ful consent, with full agrement, both in word dede, and in wrytynge, you haue alowed this treason. Therefore I take you for the auctours, as well as your forefathers I wolde not speake howe dampnable it is, to institute masses, for a wylling traytour, and murtherer, there was neuer no learning that coulde allowe this. But there is no remedy, he that dyes agaynst his kyng, & for the maintaynyng of your treasõ must nedes be a seit if masses, bulles, & miracles wil help, for al these brat your cõmãdemẽt

to

to gyue where ye lust. So that we poze men must be accused of insurrection & treason, and we muste beare all the blame, we muste be driuen oute of the realme, we muste be burned for it, and as God knoweth, there is no people vnder heauen, that more abhorreth, and with earnester herte resysteth, and more diligently doth preache agaynst disobedience, than we do. ye I dare say boldely, let al youre bokes be serched, that were writen this .v. C. yeres, & all they shal not so declare the auctorite of a prince, and the true obedience towarde hym, as one of our lytel bokes shal do, that be condepmned by you for hereby, & all this wyll not helpe vs, But as for you, you may preache, you may wryte you may do, you may sweare agaynst your prynces/and also assoyle all other men of theyr obedyence towarde theyr prynces, you maye compell prynces to be sworne to you/and yet are you chyldren of obedience, and good chrysten men, And yt ye dye for this doctryne, than is ther no remedy but you must be seyntes, & rather than fayle, ye shall do myracles To prouethis, I wyll tell you of a holy sayute of yours, of whome youre

legend

legende & cronycles maketh mencyon,
his name, as ye call hym is sayne Ger
mayne, So it chaunsed, that in the Sayncte
tyme of kynge Fortiger he came in to Germays
Englande, into a place where the
kynge lay/and desyred for hym and
his company lodgynge, The kynge bi
cause he kepte no cõmon Jnne, wolde
not receyue hym. So he departed be
ry angerly, and wente to the kynges
Neetebeardes house, and there desy=
red lodgynge. and meate and drinke for
hym and his company, The Neetherd
was content to lodge hym, but he said
he had no meate for hi, sauyng a yonge
calfe, that stode suckyng of the damme
by the crybbe. The byshop commaun=
ded the calf to be slayne, and to be dyght
and brought afore him, and he and his
company ate it vp, and after commaun
ded the bones of the calfe to be gathe=
red together and putte in the calues
skynne agayne, and so to be layde in ȳ
cribbe by the damme, and by and by
the calfe sturte vp alyue agayne.
The nexte daye the byshoppe wente to
kyng Fortiger, and reproued hym mer
ueylous straytly. because he wold not
lodge hym, & saide that he was vnwor
thy to be kynge, and therfore deposed
hym

a supplycacyon vnto the moost gracious
hym, and made his Neeteherde kyng
in his stede. Of the which Neetherd
as the cronycles maketh mẽcion, came
afterwarde manye kynges. This is
wrytten by one called Petrus de nata
libus, the which writeth the lyues of
all sayntes. I thynke no man wyll
bynde me to proue thys thinge a lye,
but yet it must be preached and taught
in your churche it must be wrytten in
holy sayntes lyues, and he muste be a
saynt that dyd it, And why / because he
deposed a kyng / & set in a Neeteherde
These shamful and abhominable thin-
ges do you prayse and alowe / and in
the meane season / condempne vs for
heretykes / and for traytours. And yf
we chaunce (moued by the abhomina-
blenes of youre doctrine) to gyue you
but one cuyl worde / then al the world
reckeneth vs vncharitable, But as for
my parte / I take God to record / afore
whome I shal be saued and dampned
that though you haue done me shame-
ful wronge, and intollerable violence /
yet wyth youre owne persones / am I
neyther displeased nor angry, but a-
gainst that horryble deuyl that dwel-
leth in you, that is the causer / and auc
tor / and mayntayner of such abhomi-
nable

nable doctrine, that is agaīste God & his blessed worde, against him (I say) is my quarell / and againste him do I strive, this is the truthe, let men take my wordes as they wyll. Is it not abhominable thinke you / so shamfullye to depose princes, so to rebuke them, so to handle them, to compell them to be sworne to you. and to hold their landes of you. and to be youre ministers, to the greate dishoncure of the liuinge God, and blasphemiinge of his blessed worde, and to the greate disprye of all noble potentates. ye remembre þ facte that is declared in your law of the noble emperour Frederike, & that wretch Innocent the fourth the thinge was this. The pope by reason of certaine complaintes, made by the Emperours enemyes, cited the Emperoure to appeare at Rome, and because the emperour wold not appeare, he cursed him with boke bel, & cãdel, & afterward deposed him & cõmaunded the electours to chose another. This is the cause of your law brevsly, But your text declareth certain articles againstthēperour which be these, The first, that he had sworne to kepe peacewith þ church of rome, which oth he brake saith ypo ye

Inst. li. tido fen. e. re mu co. ab spost

Frederyke the empe- rer depoied.

The

The second that he had done sacrilege in takinge .xxii. galies laden with holy spirituall prelates, the which wold haue gone to the counsell, gathered agaynst the Emperour in Lugdune.
The thyrde, because the Emperoure was accused of certayne artycles of heresy, the which he not set out, The fourthe, because that he had not payed the annuall pencion for the kyngdom of Sicill (the whiche the pope calleth the spirituall patrimony of sayncte Peter) in the space of ix. yeres. For these same thinges dyd he depose the Emperour and pryuate him of all his dignitie, and assoyleth all his subiectes of their othe, and obedience, and commaūded euery man not to obey hym, but al men that eyther gaue him counsel, help or fauour, to be excommunicate & cursed. This is your facte, this is youre dede, this is your doctrine, in this learninge you be promoted doctours, and vnto this learninge you are sworne, these bokes be redde openlye in youre vniuersites. Marke nowe, whiche of vs twaine be traitoures. Ether ye that do depose Emperours, and kynges, for suche trifles, ye and also make a lawe therof: and swere vnto it, and compell

all

all other to swear vnto it. Or elles we that speak against it, and say that you do wronge both to god, to his blessed ordynaunce and to all noble potentates. For fyrst, ye ought to be vnder the end not they vnder you, and more can you not do, but reprene by gods worde their vnlawfull factes, but to depose them, though they be infideles, and he retikes, haue you none auctorite. ye se howe oure maister Christe, and all his blessed Apostles dyd vse them selues towarde vnbeleuynge princes, they nether deposed them, nor yet caused them to be sworne vnto them. What a matter is it to depose an Emperoure because he layeth handes of a carnall cardinall. Is not Paule and Peter as holye as al the collage of you. And yet for layinge handes of them was no mā deposed. What and yf he kepe no peace is that a sufficiente cause to depose hym, your owne law testifieth otherwise, The holy churche of god hathe no swearde, but the spirituall sweard with the which she doth not kyll, but quycken. Likewise in another place, blessed sayne Ambrose sayth, willingly wyl I neuer forsake you, but yf I be compelled I may not resist I may

xxxiii.q.ii inter hec, xxiii.q.8. cōuenior,

sorowe, I maye wepe I maye wayle. Agaynste weapons, agaynst souldiers, against the Gothans, my teares are my weapons. For suche thynges be the defence of a preest, otherwyse ought I not, nor maye not resiste. &c. Whiles sed saynt Ambrose durste not depose the Emperoure, nother for layenge hande of hym, nor yet for heresye nother for defendynge the lybertes of holy church, But sayncte Ambrose was a symple toole, and knewe not what ye lybertyes of the churche ment, nor yet what the holy spirituall flesshe of cardinals is worth, and therfore he could do nothynge but wepe and waile.

Bysshop of Salisburye

But and yf he had ben halfe so wyse as I rede of a certayne bysshope of Salysbury was, he had done more i this matter. In the tyme of kynge Richarde the seconde, it chaunsed a baker of London to beare horse bred in a basket, & ther came a seruant of the bysshop of Salysbury, and toke by violence a lofe from hym. The baker asked why he dyd so, and he made hym none answer, but brake his heade, & the poore felow cried for help agaynste this violēce, wherby the people were moued in the strete to come out, & kepe the kinges

peace

peace so that the byshops seruant was
cõpelled to flee into a house. Neuer the
lesse the people moued at this great vio
lence, caused the constable to com for
to take him, and to bring him to prison
but anone the maire & the shiriues cam
and pacified the multitude, and so de-
parted, and dyd the byshops seruaunt
no more hurte. Notwithstandinge the
byshop of Salysbury, and the archeby
shop of yorke were so moued with the
citie, for making a saut to the byshops
house, that they made such a complaint
to the kynges grace, that he put the
mayre, and both the shiriffes oute, and
set in a knyght called syr Edwarde, to
rule the citie, and al this was done for
a horseclofe. What shall a man saye to
the patience of these spirituall men.
They do open violence: they breake the
kynges peace, they robbe men of theyr
goodes, ye and that in the kynges chā-
bre/ and also in the kinges hye strete, to
the great disdayne of iustice, to the re-
buke of the kynge, and to the great dis
pleasure of his subiectes. and yet they
can packe þ matter so, þ they be white
sonnes, & other mē must suffre for it. I
can beleue none otherwise / but þ they
haue witched the world, þ men coulde

neyther here nor se. For if this be not a shamfull facte, I can not tell what is shamefull. It had becomed them a great dele better, to haue punyshed their seruaunt in example of all other But that was neuer the wonte of the spirituall churche and yet they wyll accuse all other men of insurrection, but I dare saye there was no rebellio in this realme this .v. C. yeres, yf the kig had displeased the, but they were at ꝑ begynning of it, we do rede in ꝑ tyme of kinge Henry the seconde, that he requyred of his spiritual bysshops, that none of them shulde depart oute of the lande but they shulde fynd hym suertyes, that they shuld purchace no thinge, to the hurt of the kynges person, and his realme. But the spirit of the spirituall fathers wold not agree to it, but rather founde meanes, that pope Alexander the thyrd (the which was an vsurper of the see of Rome) condempned this article for hereſye, and afterwarde one of the bysshops (but against his wyll) dyed for this, & such lyke articles me, and you declared hi a shynyng martyr, but of this holye martyr, I wyll speake more another tyme. yf this be obedience to prynces,

Henrye ꝑ seconde

Alexãder the thyrd

to

to intende and purpose to betray them and their realmes, than are ye the beste obedient chyldren that euer were. But yf makynge of dissention, debate, and stryfe, and setting men together by the eares, alloyenge men of their othe towarde their princes, maye be cause of insurrection, and treason, than are ye the maister of al maisters, and the best conueyers of all iuggelars. what true Englysh harte wolde thinke, but that the kynges requeste was bothe godlye and lawfull. what learninge is able to defende the contrary, Standeth it not with our fidelitie that we owe towarde our prynce. ye with the truth that we owe to our father and mother, to oure brethrene and systerne, and to all oure countrey men. Doth not our othe made to oure prince, bynde vs to it: and yet ye wyl not agree to it. but al your bokes muste rather be fulfylled with contrarye doctryne, and all men must be condempned for heretikes, that speaketh agaynst them. Beleue me, yf I were your mortall enemye (as you reken me to be, and as you haue well deserued: that I shoulde be) I coulde so set oute this matter, that all men shuld spytte at you: but I wyll vse my selfe charytably

tably towarde you, and yf the matter
had not ben ſo haynouſlye, and ſo vy
olentlye handled of you, I wolde no
haue gyuen you one yll worde. Bu
nowe let no man require of me, that
ſhulde, vnto ſuche a vhomynable an
deteſtable dyuell, as hath brought te
this wycked and ſhamefull lernyng
and maners, put of my cappe and ma
ke lowe curteſye, and geue fayre wor
des. and ſaye, God gyue you good m
zowe ſyr dyuel, howe fare you. I a
glad of your welfare and proſperyt
youre lordſhype doth rule very grac
ouſly, and all men prayſeth you I do
bte not but god ſhall proſpere you,
ſaie, let no man require this of m
for I am, and wyll be ſo taken for h
mortall enemye where ſoeuer I
fynde hym, whether he be in lorde
in hyſhope, ſauing peraduenture, yf
ſaye hym dwellynge in a hyſhop.
wyll not handell hym with ſo roug
wordes /for the weykenes of cerra
men, as I wolde, yf I founde hym in
nother place. It were not exchar
yf I recyted here by name, the in
cent bloudde, that you haue ſhedd
my tyme, for ſpeakyng agaynſte y
vnlawfull doctryne. Alas what fa

coul

couldeye fynde in good mayster Bylneye, whompe haue caste away so vyolently. I dare saye, there is not one amonge you, that knewe him, but muste commende and prayse his vertuous lyuynge, And thoughe you hadde founde hym with a lyttle faut, (which I thinke and he were nowe alyue, shoulde be no faute) alas would you caste awaye so cruelly, so good a man: and so trewe a man. both to god and to his kyng. But I wyll retourne agayne to my purpose and shewe another example, howe you haue learned, and taughte to set kynges and kyngedomes together by the eares, for the mayntenaunce of youre dignities, and doctrines Pope Urban the. vi, which was chosen in the yere of youre lorde. M.CCC.lxxviii, by sedityon, and violence of Romaynes, whiche wolde haue no cardinall of Fraunce, because they wolde the pope shoulde be residente in rome.

Mayster Bylney

Pope Urban

This Urbane, I saye, deuisinge howe to mayntaine his secte and parte agaynste his aduersarye, whiche was called Clement, of whose syde the kynge of Fraunce helde, sente to the kinge of Englande. Edwarde the thyrde, the whiche as than was not wel contente

the

the frenche kynge) certaine bulles con
tayninge clene remission a pena, & a cul
pa, for all them that woulde wage bat-
tayle against the kynge of Fraunce, &
agaynste them that were of Clementes
syde. And bycause the kinge and his
lordes shulde be the wyllynger to take
this battaile on them, he sent a cōmaū
dement to the byshops, to rayse of the
spiritualtye a tare, for to paye the
souldyours with. Moreouer bycause
the duke of Lancaster hadde a tytle to
the kyngedome of Castell, the whiche
helde of Clementes syde, therefore the
pope graunted, that part of this mony
shulde also be delyuered to hym, yf he
wolde wage battayle agaynst the kyng
of Castell, promysing him also that he
woulde sturre the kyng of Portyngale
(whiche then had also variaunce with
the sayde kynge of Castell) to warre a-
gaynst the sayd kynge, and to the main
tayning of his warre, he wolde graunt
the kynge of Portingale a dyme of his
spiritualtye thorowe all his realme.
How muche was gathered in Portyn
gale, our stories maketh no mencion:
but in London, and in the dioceſe was
gathered a tunne of gold / & in the hole
realme of England was gathered. xxv

L.M.frãkes, which maketh in englisshe mony .cc.lxxvii,M.vii.c.lxxvii.li, And because this money was gathered of ye spiritualty, & by their diligẽce, therfor the pope ordeyned Harpe Spenser the byshop of Norwich to be the cheif captaine of this warre, but or euer ye pope coulde bryng this matter to passe / he sent to the kynge, to his lordes, and to his byshops.xxx.bulles. So that at ye laste, this forsaide byshoppe of Norwyche was sent forth with a great nũber of men, in the wages of the church And the duke of Lancaster lykewise a gainst the kynge of Castel. Their othe was geuen them, to fyght agaynste no man, nor contrey, that held with pope Urban, And our cronicle sayth ye pope Urban wold haue made peace betwen the Frenche kynge, & ours at the last. Howe thinke you, is not this a prayse practise, to set men together by the eares. and than to make thẽ beleue, that he wolde make a peace. Fyrst we muste haue clene remyssion to fighte, & than we shall be cursed as blacke as a pot yf we wyll make no peace, And why. Because the pope hath his purpose, Is not this a goodlye packyng of spirituall men, Is not here goodly obedi

ence

ence ought toward prices. be not mes
soules well fed with this doctryne,
Be not these good fathers, that thus
watcheth nyghte and day, for the
cure and charge, that they haue of mes
soules, Marke howe charytable, and
lyberall that the holye fathers be, in
dystrybutyng of Christes. merytes.
Euery man that fyghteth in his cause
shall haue cleane remission a pena et a
culpa, and must nedes be the chylde of
saluacion, Let Christe saye & do what
he can, for the holy churche hath so
determyned, And that no man shulde
doubte of it / ther be .xxx. bulles graf
ted, & that vnder leade, And the church
of Rome can not erre, for the spirituall
lawe sayeth. what the see of Rome
doth approue, that must nedes be allo
wed, and that that she reproueth must
be of no strengthe Lykewyse in an o=
ther place, So maste the decrees of ꝑ
see of Rome be accepted, as though
they were spoken by the godly voyce
of Peter hym selfe. Agaynst these thin
ges dare I not speake, for I wold faine
be taken for a christened man, but yet
I muste be so bolde to speake one word
the truthe is, the deuil him selfe hathe
blowen out these presūptuous voyces.

dist. xix. ſi. rom. ro. et e nim v. ro et nulli fas. et ca. ſict ōnes

And

And yet men must set both lyfe, & soule on these wordes. for there be. xxx. bul les of leade, to confyrme the matter. And that is a weighty thing, But whā kynge thou, our naturall prince, shuld haue had of the pied monkes, for the de fence of his realme/but a small somme of money: Than was there neuer a bul to gette, nor yet one byshop in Englād to preache on his syde. But nowe. CC. M. pounde is gathered in one lent, and a great dele more, and all for the mayn taynaunce of pope holy flesshe. was not this a marualous subiection, þ we shulde suffre our selues so light= ly to be moued, to gyue, not all onlye so great a somme of money, but also to sende for the, in the defence of suche a wycked person, our naturall brethern kynsemen, and contremen. I dare saye of my conscience that in fyue hun dred yers, there was not suche a sōme of monye so lyghtely graunted, wer. þ cause neuer so greate, vnto our kyng ot naturall, and lege lorde ye I do beleu þ if the kynges grace at this same day shulde desyre of the spiritualtie, but halfe of this somme, I dare saye they wolde neuer graunt hym with theyr

howe t
the spi
altie is
helpe t
poyn

good

good wyl, nor there shuld not be fonde one deuine in England, of the holye popes churche, that colde & wold proue by good diuinite, that the kynge myght take it, & the spiritualte were bounde to gyue it. Alas, what shall I say, beleue me, I do want wordes, to the settynge out of this matter. wher is natural affeccion. where is natural loue, where is fydelyte wher is trouthe of herte, that men ought to haue. and to beare towarde theyr naturall prynce, toward theyr natyue countrey, towarde theyr fathers & mothers. towarde theyr wyfes and chyldren ye toward theyr owne lyues, god of his infinite goodnes hath gyuen vs a noble prynce, to the maintaining and defence of all these thynges, & toward hym we haue lytle or none affeccyon. But vnto this ydole of Rome, are we redy to gyue both bodye, and goodes, and the more we gyue, the better we ar content. was not this a marualous pouery thynge to this realme: to send out so many thousandes. and to receyue nothyng agayn. but deceytful bulles. and shepes skynnes. and a lytle peace of leade: ye and worst of all, to make men beleue, that theyr saluacio

dyd hange on it, I dare saye boldely, that yf we peore men (whiche be now condempned for heretykes, and also for traytours agaynste our kynge) had not ben, the realme of Englãde had not stande in so good a cõdicion as it is, for men had ben bound styl in theyr conscyence, for to obey this wretched ydole. who durst haue kept the innumerable sõme of money, within the realme, that yerely was sucked out, by this adder. yf our Godly lernyng had not instructed theyr conscyẽce. Let all the lyberaryes be sought in Englande, & there shall not be one boke wrytten in. iiii. C. yeres. and, admitted by the church of rome, and by our spyrytualtie, founde, that doth teache this obedience, and fydelyte towarde prynces, and delyuereth oure realme from the bondage of this wycked satan the pope, or elles that is able to satisfye, and to quyete any mans conscyence within this realme, & yet I dare saye, he is not in england that can rezeue oure lesruynge, by the doctrine of our maister Christe/or els of his holy Apostles. ye men haue studyed and deuised howe they myghte bryuge our mighty prynce, and his noble realme,

what pra
fyt Engli
de hath b
& gospel

vnder

vnder ꝑ fete of this deuyl. There could
ennothyng handled so secretly with in
this realme, but yf it were, eyther plea
sant, or profitable to the pope to know
than were all the bysshops in englande
iworne/to reuelate that matter to hym
this may be wel proued, by their sham
full, and traytorous othe, that they, cō
trary to Gods lawe, mannes law, and
order of natur/hath made to this false
man/the pope. The wordes of theyr oth
written in their owne lawe/be these, I
Bysshop. N. from this hour forth, shal
be faithfull to saint Peter, to the holy
church of rome/and to my lord the pope
to his successours/lawfully entring in
to the popedome. I shal not consent in
counsel, nor in dede that ye shuld lose
either lyfe, or lim, or that he shulde be
taken in any cuyl trappe, His counsel
that shall be shewed vnto me, either by
himselfe/or els by his letters, or bi his
legates: I shal open to no man, to hys
hurt or damage. I shal helpe to defend
and maintaine the Papacy of the chur
che of rome/the rules of the holye fa
thers/saueinge mine order/agaynste all
men lyuinge. I shal come to the coun
cell/whan soeuer I be called, onles I
be lawfullye let. The popes legate I
shal

shall honourably entreat, both goyng and commynge, and in his necessities, I shall helpe hym. I shal visite yeare ly, either by myne owne propre parson, or els by some sure messenger, the sea of rome, onles I be dispensed with, So helpe me god and this holy euangelyst ¶ There hath ben wonders packyng, vsed, and hath coste many a thousande mens lyues, ere ther the spiritualtye brought it to passe, that all they shulde be sworne to the pope, and owe none obedience to any man, but to hym onely This matter hath ben wonderous craftely conueyed, for at the begynnynge the byshops were not sworne so straytlye vnto the pope, as nowe. For I rede in the tyme of Gregory the third, whi che was in the yere of our lorde viii. C. lix. howe they of the was no more, but to swere for to kepe the faith of holye churche, and to abyde in the vnitie of the same, & not to consent for any mans pleasure to ꝑ cõtrary, to promise also to seke ꝑ profits of the church of rome. And yf any byshops dyd lyue agaynst the olde statutes of holy fathers, with hym they shoulde haue no conuersacyon/but rather forbydde it, yf they coulde, or elles trewelye to shewe the

pope

pope of it, This othe contynued a great many of yeares, tyll that a mortall hatered sprange betwene the emperour & the pope, for confirmynge of byshops/ than as many byshops as were confyrmed of the pope, dyd sweare the othe, þ I haue fyrst wrytten. For this othe, that Gregory maketh mencyon of, was not sufficient, because that by it, the byshops were not bounde to betray theyr pryuytes, nor to reuelate theyr councels to the pope, The which thing the pope must nedes knowe, or els, he coulde not bringe to passe his purpose, that is to say, he could not be lord ouer the world and cause emperours, and kynges, to fetch their confyrmatiō of him, & knele downe & to kysse his fete. The whych thyng whā he had brought to passe, he proceded forther, addyng more thynges in þ byshopes oth/ to the mayntayning of his worldly honour, and dignitye, as it shall afterwarde appeare. But fyrste we wyll examyne this othe how it standeth with Gods word, and with the true obedience to our prince. I pray you tell me oute of what scripture, or els out of what example of our maister Christe/ and his holy apostles you haue taken this doctryn/ to lerne

the poope chaungeth the bishopes oth as often as it maketh for his profyte

Fyrste kynges be brought with violence vnder the. popes fete, and than byshops swore to maintaine it

to

to swere to saint Peter, or elles to the churche of rome, or els to the pope.
What nede you to sweare to saint Peter. ye can neither do him good by your fidelite, nor yet hurte by your falsehed. Othes be taken, that he that the othe is made vnto, might be sure of the true help, and socour of him, that swearethagainst al men that coulde hurte him,
Now saynt Peter hath none enemies, and though he had, yet is not he a ferd of them, neither can you help hym, nor delyuer him, yf he had nede. But the veritie is, that good saynt Peter must here stonde in the fore frunte, to make men afraide with, and to make men beleue that you are his freudes, but god knoweth that ye neither fauoure his person, learning nor liuinge, For yf saint Peters person were here with his nette on his necke, I thinke you wolde bydde hym walk beggar, yf you called him not heretike. Why do you not swere to folowe his lyuinge. & to preache, and teache his doctrine, but that maketh nothinge for your purpose.
Therfore you swere all onely to saynt Peters name. But wherin wyll you be faithfull to saint Peter to mayntayne

his worldelye honours, dignities, or riches, you knowe well, he saithe, that he hath forsaken all these thinges for Christes sake. And for these thinges, I thynke he will requite none oth of you Wherfore yf you wyll nedes be faythfull, and sworne vnto sainte Peter, it muste be in maintaynynge, and in defendinge spirituall thinges, as preachinge of Christes Gospell purely, and syncerely, ministringe truely after the institution of oure maister Christe the blessed sacramentes of holy church and invertuous lyuynge gyuyng example to ỹ hole church of Christ. But nowe, if this be your othe, truelye you are pariured, and worthy to weare papers/for you do reke your selues to hy, and to honourable, to go aboute suche simple thinges, as these be. And therfore you haue applyed youre selues to ther greatter matters, as to christeninge of belles, to halowinge of Churches, to blessinge of candels, to consecrating of holye oyle, to halowinge of chalesses, vestementes, and aulters, and to gyuinge .xl. daies of pardon, to them that receiuerh your blessinges in the streete, and to some that visite holye saintes and suche like great matters, whiche per-

The holye workes of byshops

pertaineth nothinge to youre othe. Wherfore I do recken, that after the true forme of your othe, we haue but fewe bisshops, but that be periured or abiured (call it as you wil both against god, against saint Peter, and against their prince. It foloweth, And to holy churche of rome, What nedeth this, whot good can you do to the holy churche of Rome. Or what profite is it to her that ye swere. where is any requeste of her in holy scripture that you shulde swere, Thinke you that she wil compell you by youre othe to be true to her, than muste she nedes sewe you of periurye, yf you breake youre othe.

But marke howe the churche of rome is sette in youre othe, as the better personne, before the Poope, wherefore it muste nedes folowe. that the poope is vnder the churche, and lesse than the churche, and no heade of the churche, except you wyll make him a thyrd person that neither partaineth to sainte Peter, nor yet to holye churche, but is a thynge of hym selfe, and as youre lawe saithe nother God, nor man, but myddle betwene them both, that is as moche to saye, after my learnynge, as the deuyll him selfe.

In prop. vices Quoniã in verbo papa.

But what meaneth it, that you swere only to the holy churche of rome, wyl ye be traytours to the holy churche of Constantinople. or els to the holy churche of Englande: Or do you thinke other churches not holy: tel vs what ye meane, for it semeth a marualous thinge, and also a spetiall thinge, that you make suche an othe all onely to the holy churche of rome, naming none other church. why are you not rather sworn to kepe and to fede, to norisshe, and to be true to your own church, of the whiche ye haue taken cure and charge, As saint Peter commandeth you. Se that you fede Christes flocke, whiche is among you. for of these you haue taken your name, liuing and dignitie, you are called by whop of wynchester, of Londō, and of Lincolne, And of these you are fedde, but these be forgotten in youre othe, and these you lytle regarde, but to maintayne the holy church of rome that giueth you neuer a peny, but robbeth all other churches/you muste be straitly sworne. And why: Antichryste muste haue a cloke for his treason. For nowe yf he be a traytour, he is to be excused, why, for he is sworne to it. But shall I tell you what I do take oute of it.

i petri. v

ſt. The truthe is, that I doo take, that you ſweare, to betraye, to kyll & ſleye all membres of all other churches, ſauynge thoſe that lyueth after the whordome, and miſcheke / that is vſed in rome. For yf you ſhouide be bounde to ſeeke oute in rome, Chriſtened men, and thoſe that dothe lyue after the lyuynge of holy churche. I thinke you ſhoulde fynde but fewe, ye and vnto thoſe, you welde thinke ſhorne to be ſworne, ergo, it muſt folowe, that you are ſworne to the worſte ſort of Rome. And that your holy church of rome is taken for ſuch a ſort, as lyueth againſt god, againſt his bleſſed worde, againſt the lyuynge of holy apoſtles, againſte the condicions of our holy mother the churche, I coulde ſaye, in al whordom in all oppreſſion, in all ſodomyte, in al murder, in all pompe / and pryde / ſumma ſummarum, in all maner of miſchef that tonge can tell, or hert can thynke. But I wyll not ſay ſo, for men wold reken me vncharitable / and to vehement Neuertheles al the worlde knoweth, þ you do reken your ſelf / by the vertue of your oth, bound to nam̄, but vnto ſuch as in very dede liueth after this vngracious maner, and yet wyl you be faith-

full

full and true vnto them/to maintayne them and to defend them against al mē ye I dare saye, yf that their conscience had not condemned them of suche mys cheke, they woulde neuer haue desired this assistence of you, or els haue thought it necessaryt o haue required an oth of you. But the veritie is, thei be nought and haue need of maintainers in their mischeke. And also suspecte you, not to be true (except you made an othe to them, ye and scasly than, onles that you in very dede, at tyme and place conuenient, do betraye your princes, for ȳ is the cause of your oth, And other profytte hath not the kynge by it. I wyll be reported by all practyse that euer came out of your othe, It folowetb, And to my lorde the pope, I wold gladlye learne where the pope hathe gotte ȳ dignite of a lord. This thing is lytle regarded of my lordes the bysshops/to bringe in suche a worldly dignitie, yt they wyll saye, it is but a tryfle, and mocke men for speakynge agaynste it. But the truth is, if they durst as much nowe, as in tymes paste, they woulde burne for this lytle trifle, the best lord in England. For I dare say, it hath cost many a mans lyfe, or euer they brought

the

the pope to lordeshyp. Blessed saint Peter, whose successoure the pope bosteth hym selfe to be, knew nothynge of this lordeshyp, for he sayth vnto his felowes, they shal not exercerise no lordshyp ouer the congregation. And lykewyse sayut Paule durst not take vppon him to commaunde, as a lorde, collections to be made for poore men, but mekelye desires them with oute any lordeshyp. Also in another place. Let no man iuge vs, but as the minysters of Christ. Blessed saint Paule reckeneth him selfbut a minister, & a seruaunt. And yet the daye hath ben, that he was so good, as my lorde the popet. Oure maister Christe, that came to teach both Peter, & Paul learned his disciples not to vse them selues as lordes, but as seruauntes, And marke the occasyon that he had, There be two new disciples brought vnto hym, and the olde (beinge not yet perfyte) thoughte skorne, that these ii. shuld syt aboue al other, the one of the right hande, and the other of the lefte hande: But our mayster Christe repreueth this proude stomacke of theirs very straytely, sayinge. How the princes and rulers of the infidelles hathe power on theyr subiectes, but so shall not

i. Petri. v

ii Cor. viii

ii. Cori. iiii.

Math. xx

not ye. For he that wyll be greateste a-
monge you, shall be leeste. Here our ma
ster Christe learneth none hypocrysye,
that they shulde be called leste in name
and be greatest in very dede/but he wil
that this doctrine shall be expressed in
their deedes. My lorde the Pope, cal-
leth him selfe in wordes, the seruaunte
of all seruauntes, but in verye deede he
wil be lorde ouer al lordes. ye and my
lordes the byshops, wyll be sworne to
hym, as vnto a lorde, and they wyll re-
ken them selfe periured, yf they burne
not all them/that wyll take the poope
but for a seruaunt, Is not this a mar-
ueylous hypocrisy, to be called seruant
of all seruauntes, and yet desyre for to
be taken as lorde and kynge ouer all
kynges/yea vnto this be oure byshops
sworne, because they wyll be obediente
to their princes. But and theyr consci-
ences were riped/you shulde fynde no
man syt there as a kynge, but my losell
the Pope. And we poore men muste
be condemned, for reprouynge of this,
And whye. verelye because my lordes
haue sworne to him, agaīst their prince
and al his true subiectes. But how stan
deth it with your othe towarde youre
prince, for to be sworne to ꝑ pope, whi-
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Verum sed aliud

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che is not all onely an other lorde but also contrarye, ye & as the worlde now is, the greatteste mortall enuemye, that our prince hath. For I dare saye, that if this wretched Clement could drown our noble prynce w one word, it shulde not be longe vndone, sine clementia.
The commē saying went in Hamburgh that this caytyfe hath not all onely excommunicated our noble prince, but also geuen awaye the kyngdome to an other. And this facte must you defende, for you are sworne to the Poope. ye I dare say, yf you had conuenient occasion, you wolde declare your fidelite. I do iudge after your factes, ỳ you haue done to kinges in tymes paste, whanso euer that you had power and mighte, to bringe to passe that, whiche you had concepued agaynst your prince. yf you thinke I iudge amysse, or elles do you wronge, let me be put to my proke, and you shalte, what an hepe of holy factes that I wyl bring out of your owne cronicles and bokes, for the whiche you wyl be lauded, and prayfed hyely, that you haue so faithfullye stucke to thys damnable ydole of rome. ye I dare say it had ben heresy within this two yeates / to haue wrytten, or sayde thus

muche

moche agaynste this limme of the deuyll, on our princes syde. This all the world can testify, wherfor I think you wyll put me to no tryall. But to youre othe. How doth it stand with your allegiance toward your prince, to be sworn to the pope: your owne law sayth, that a lege man can make none othe of fidelite, to none other man, but to his owne kynge. Moreouer you do remēbre your othe made vnto oure prynce, wherein you do renounce all clauses, wordes, & sentences, made vnto the pope, whiche maye be hurtfull or preiudiciall to his byenes. How agreeth these two othes, you may set thē together as wel as you can, but I knowe no wayes to auoyde your periurye. For the very truth is, þ the kynges grace and his councell considerynge your othe made to the pope, to be preiudiciall to his regall power, causeth you in youre othe afterwarde made vnto hym to reuoke those thynges that you had afore sworne to the pope, and to declare that his grace and his counsel/dyd recken your oth made to the Poope, to be againste him. therfore he maketh you to reuoke it by name namynge the same othe, and also the same Pope. So that you maye clerly

In vi lib. ti de sentence et re iudicata. ca. pasto ralis in ver bohemoque

Because the bishops peruri who cā

clerely perceyue, howe that our prince doth suspect you, for your oth making And in very dede, the popes meaninge and yours was none other but for to betray the kynge & his realme. And ther fore as soue as ther was any variance betwen ꝑ kyng & ꝑ pope, thã were you fyrste of all/alloyled of youre allegyance dewe vnto youre kynge/and that absolucyon, was blasen, & blowen, preched, and taughte, throghoute all the worlde/and all dores and postes must be decked with papers and bulles for your discharge. But for to helpe your prynce you could neuer be discharged of your heretycal, and trayttous othe made vnto the pope, against your prīce Here neither Peter nor paul cã helpe; nor there is no key that can open that locke. O lorde God, howe haue we bē blynded thus traytorously to handle agaynst our natural prynce. But how this caterpyller is come to be a lorde & hath brought kynges vnder his fete I wyll speake (God wyllinge) after this in a peculier treatise It folowethe and to his successours, lawfully & regulary entringe in, After what law I rede in youre owne bokes of lawe after whiche me thynketh there be

Bishops be alloyled of their other towarde their prince but neuer from othe made to the pope

Di, xxiii. qui episcopus ex consilio. iiii. can tha

verye

very fewe bysshops made, wherein I fynde amonge al other good thinges that he shulde be chast of lyuing, meke gentle to speake to, mercifull, wel learned in the newe and olde testament, and that he shulde not forbyd mariage, nor shulde blame the eatynge of flesshe, and shulde also beleue, that all manner of synnes, as well actual, as originall, be clearely forgiuen in baptyme. Howe many of these thinges the popes holynes is indued with all, and howe many that he alloweth, his owne bokes and dedes wyll testifye. wherefore I reckeu that your oth dothnot meane this law nor yet the lawe that blessed S. Paule wryteth of. For than I recken, that by the vertue of youre othe you haue not bene bounde to sue poope this. CCC yeares, so that it must folow, that you haue other lawes, than blessed S. Paul speaketh of/or the counsell of Carthaginence, to chose your Pope by. ¶ whiche as farre as men can recken, by commune experience / and practyse / be these.

1, Timo. iii. Titū primo

who is lawfull to be pope

In primis. He that shall be able to be pope, must be a vengeable tyraunt, neuer keppynge peace/but all wayes warringe for the defence (as ye call it) of

sayntes

saynt Peters patrymone, To suffer no prynce to dwelle in reste by hym, but to snatche his possessyons. to the vnholy churche of Rome, To set prynces togyther by ỹ eares, tyll they be both wery, and than to take the matter in his hand, & neuer to make an ende, tyl bothe partyes hath gyuen some, possessyons to his holy fatherheed, to assoyle the soules, ỹ hath ben slayne throughe his packynge, And he ỹ dare most boldely. and with leste shame, depose prynces, without a cause, he is beste able to be pope. He that can by any trayne, crafte. or subtylte, bringe vnder hym any byshop, or any spirituall person, or inuent any newe clause in theyr othe. he is to be alowed afore other, Moreouer, he that kepeth fewest women, and hath moste of them, ỹ you wote of, he is holyest, and apte to be heed of youre churche. And he that can most tyrauntly burne men for preachinge of the gospel, and he hym selfe to take no labours therin. Item to bourne prestes that mary wyues, and he him selfe to lyue in all myschefe, & whordome, ye in suche abhominables nes, as no mã may with onesty speake (you knowe what I meane) this man

I say

I say hath a good testimony afore his spiritualty, that he is a lawfull man to that office. Forthermore, he that is a hores son as our holy father is now and can synde the meanes that. xii. mē wyl forswere them selfe, that he is lawfully borne as this holy clemente dyd, This is a fete father, for suche chyldrē, Fynally, he that cā geue most monye, and bye the greatteste parte of cardynalles of his syde/ he is best worthy to be called pope, and to syt in Peters stoole. For it can not be vnknowē to you, how that Thomas woulcy an holy pyller of youre churche, wolde haue ben pope, whan this Clemēt was chosen & he dyd offre for it a reasonable peny. But Clement dasshed him out of consaite with, xx, M. li. more than he offered and so he was iudged best worthy, and entred in lawfully/ and regularly, and vnto hym oure bysshops be sworne, and obediēt. And why bicause they wyl haue suche a heed as they be mēbres, For howe coulde elles theyr kyngdome stande/ For yf one shulde be chosen/ after the rule of blessed saynte Paule, or elles after ꝑ lyuyng of these new heretykes which be symple and pore & care not for no dignites nor wil neither

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nether sweare nor fyghte, and wolde rather mary a wife of their owne / than take other mennes, and alwayes study enge and preachinge gods worde, seking onely the honour of god, and the profyte of his neighbour, and will be subiecte and obedient in all thinges, desiringe none acception to his prynce. This mā I saye, should be vnlawfull and not be eligible, for he were able to destroye the hole kyngedome of the papistes and not worthye to receaue an othe of my lordes the bysshopes, whiche will not gladyle be perjured for such a mās sake.

For he were able to destroye the hoole churche of rome, vnto the whiche oure bysshops ben before sworne. It folowe th in your othe, I shall not consent in cuuncell or in dede, that they shulde lose either lyfe or mēbre, or þ they shuld be taken or be trapped, by anye euyll meane. What nede you to sweare thus vnto the poope / dothe not the order of charite bynde you thus to vse youre selues towardes all men. that is to say neyther to hurte them nor to harme them / neyther to betrappe them / nor betray thē / but al mē must be betrayde & with crafte & sotteltye vndone / for þ

mayn-

maintenaūce of this one wretched per
sone, The truth is, that neuer mā spak
against this popet / but you destroyde
hym, & betrayde hym. But this popet
hath blasphemed, and betrayde all po
testates, and yet you were neuer against
hym. And why, because you be swor̄e
to hym, And you wyll kepe your othe,
be it righte or wronge, But in your last
othe, whiche hath ben newly made is
added this clause That no men shuld
lay violent handes vpon them in anye
wyse, or any wrong shulde be done vn=
to them by any maner of colour. Thys
parte is newely brought in syns the
tiesshe of the pope hath ben so holy,
that no man myghte touche it but hat
lottes: Christen men muste pacyentlye
suffre iniuries and wronges but your
heed wyl forswer that poynt, and mai
taine hym selfe throughe your power
agaynst al men. Howe nere that this
is the apostles lyuinge, all christē men
canwell iudge, It folowerh in youre
othe. Their counsell that shall be she=
wed vnto me / ether by theyr letters or
by theyr messengers, I shal open to no
man to theyr hurte or damage, Let pri
ces beware / whan the. Pope sendeth
counselles vnto you / for the meanyng
is

as to betrary them. For all the worlde knoweth, that the pope and you dothe litle regarde, what the beggars of the worlde doth handle, But what Empe-rours Kynges, and Dukes doth han-dle, that must you let and destroye. For that is the popes counsell. And you maye not shewe it to no man,

No not to youre kynge. And whye bicause you are sworne to the pope. But what saye you to youre othe made vnto your pynce, wherin you swere, þ you shall be kaythfull and trewe / and bere vnto him aboue all creatures, loue and fauour, to lyue and to dy with him and to open vnto him all maner of cou-sels, that maye be hurtefull vnto hys grace. Nowe is it well knowne, that þ pope hath done and dayly dothe han-dle suche counselles, as be againste our pynces honour, and conuersation. And yet you may neither tel it to your pyce nor let it, & whye? bicause you be sworne to the poope, and forsworne to youre pynce. Tell me whan anye thinge was opened vnto our pynce, by you, that the pope had handled in cousel against our pynce. Of this thing I wyll take recorde of his noble grace, whether I saye true or false. And yet must I be ac-

cused of treason. And why, because you are sworne to the pope. And I am true to my kynge. It foloweth, I shall helpe to defende and maynetayne the papystrye of rome, against all men, sauing myne ordre. And in your othe, now in cure dayes made is added.

The regalies of Sainte Peter. What and in al men be contained your prince you must nedes defende hym. And whi because you be sworne to the pope, and forsworne to your prince. For your oth to youre prince is, to defend him with all your wytte and reason against all men. How wel must you forsake one of the And your practise hath ben alwayes to forsake your prince, and stycke to the pope. For of your othe made to youre prince, you haue ben oftentimes alloyled. And as your law sayth, the churche of rome is wonte so to do. But of youre othe made vnto the poope, there is no absolution, neyther in heauen, nor earthe. Neither was it euer redde, hearde or seene, that there couldbe any dispensacõ for it. Let me be reported by all the bokes, that euer wer written, & by all the bulles that euer wer graunted and by all the experience that euer was vsed. And yf I be founde false let

xv. questi. Aliano

me

me be blamed. And yet I am sure ma-
ny men wyll recken that I speake vn-
charitably. But I wolde fayne learne
of all the charitable men in Englande,
with what other englysh wordes that
I shuld or coulde declare this intolle-
rable or subtyll treason thus long and
shamefully vsed against my prince/ wh
the is necessary to be knowne. And I
am cõpelled by violence to declare both
my cõfessiõ and learning in this cause.
For men hath not bẽ ashamed to reporte
that I wolde (which am but a wretche
e poore symple worme, and not able to
kyll a catte though I wolde do my vt-
termost) to make insurrection againste
my noble and mygthty prince / whome
(as God knoweth) I do both honoure/
worshyp/loue/and fauour/ to the vtter
most power of my herte and am not sa-
tisfied bicause it is no more. This I
speake afore God. Let him be merciful
vnto me, as it is trw. And if I were not
so true in myn herte/ it were not possi
ble for me so ernestly to wryte agynste
them, whome I do reken to handle vn-
feythfully, and vntruelye with theyr
prince ye agaynst bothe Gods lawe
and mans lawe

The veryе trutbe is/ I can suffre

 tyrany

(through Gods grace) all manner of wronges iniuries, and sclaunders.
But to be called an heretike agaynste god, or a traytour agaynste my kinge, he lyeth not, but I wyll saye he lyeth And wyll be able so to proue hym yf I may be reported by my workes, or dedes/by my conuersacion, or liuinge, or by any thinge that euer I dyd. But vn to my purpose, ꝑ bysshops doth sweare one othe to the pope, and an other contrary to their prince, And yet they will be taken for good and faythfull chyldren, And I poore man must be condēpned, and all my workes for heresy, and no man to rede them vnder the paine of treason. And whye, because I wryte against their periurie towarde their prince. But howe commeth saint Peter by these regalles, that you are sworne to defende, seyng that he was neuer no kynge, but a fysscher. All the worlde knoweth, ꝑ regalia belongeth to kings and to lyke power of kinges, Why are you not rather sworne to defende Peters net, and his fysshery, the whiche thinges he both had, and vsed, and neuer regalles. But these thynges wyll not maynteyn the holy church of rome and therfore ye were not to maintayn

them

them But what meane you by that sen
tence. Sauinge myne ordre: why saye
you not, Sauinge my kynges pleasure, In verbo re
your glose sayth, you maye not defend uo ordino
these thinges with weapons, But oh
lorde God, what an vnshamefulnes is
this, thus to delude with wordes all ꝑ
hole worlde. Men knoweth that whan
the pope hath nede of your helpe, there
is no menne sooner in armes than you
are, yf you call armes harneys/
byles, and glaues, swordes, and guns,
and suche other thinges, Do you not re
membre howe sone the byshop of Nor
witche, Henry Spenser, was in armes
to defende Pope vrbane. It were but fo
ly to resyte examples. ¶ In the yeare
of our lorde. m, c. lxiiii. was there a cō
trouersy betwene the kynges grace, & These artyc
the byshops of englande, for certayne cles be own
prerogatiues belongynge to the kinge. graunted a
Wherfore the kynge required an othe. are nowe he
and a confyrmation of the byshops, as resyte
concerninge those articles and preroga
tyues. But answere was made
of the byshoppes/ that those preroga-
tyues, cum omnibus prauitatibus in
regio scripto contentis, were of noone
effect, nor strength, because they or dde
forbydde to appeale to the courte of
rome

rome, onles the kynge gaue lycence. And bicause that no byshop might goo at the popes callyng out of the realme without the kynges asset. And bicause that clarkes shulde be conuented in criminall causes afore a temporall iudge. Also because the kynge wold here matters, as concerninge tythes and other spirituall causes. And because that it was against the see of rome, and dignitie of the same, that a byshop shulde be conuented afore the kynge. Breuelye, they wouldе not be vnder the kyng, but this addiction shuld be set vnto it. Saluo honore dei, et ecclesie romane, et ordine nostro, that is, we will be vnder your grace, sauinge the honour of God of the churche of rome, and of our order

The cause why they dyd excepte these thinges. was this as they them selues graunt: For kynges receyued theyr auctoritie and power of the churche, but the church receiueth her auctoritie of christ wherfore they conclude, that the kynge can not commaunde ouer the byshops nor absolue any of them, nor to iuge of tythes, nor of churches, neither yet to forbid byshops, the haudelynge of any

spirit

spirituall cause. Is not here a marueylous blindnes & obstynacy agaynst their prynce. They wyl make it against gods honour, to obey their kyng, and ar not ashamed to say in the kynges face, that his power is of them. But I praye you whether was kynges before bysshops: or bysshops before kynges, you shal find that god had longe admitted kynges, (or any bysshop as you take hym) was thought of. Doth not the holye ghoste commaunde, that we shoulde honoure kynges? Also in another place. Let all men be vnder the high powers, for the power is of God, and he that resisteth the powers, resysteth GODS ordynaunce,

Kinges power of god immediate

.petri.ii.

Roma. xiii.

Here blessed sayncte Paule sayeth that kynges powers is of GOD and not of bysshoppes.

FURTHERMORE, what reason is it to defende the Popes prerogatyue agaynste youre prynces. Is not youre prynce nearer, and more naturall vnto you, than this wretche the poope, But here is a thynge that maketh me to maruayle. When you sweare to the Poope (Sauynge your ordre.) Is as muche to saye, as you shall not vse no weapones: but elles

you

you shal be redy and obedient in al thi
ges. But whan you shal swere to your
kynge, than (sauynge your order) is as
moche to say, as you haue auctorite to
confirme kynges/and to be their felo=
wes, and neyther to be obediente vnto
them, nor yet to aunswere to any iustice
before them, but clerely to be exempted
and they not to medle with you, except
they wyll gyue you some worldly pro=
mocion. yf I wolde vse my selfe as vn=
charitably agaynst you as you haue hā
deled me: doutles I coulde make
some thinge of this, that shoulde
displease you. howe wold you crye. &
howe wold you handle me poore wretch
yf you had halfe so muche agaynst me,
as this is. But I wyll let you passe.
God hathpreserued me hetherto of his
infinite mercy against youre insaciable
malyce, and no doubte but he shall do
the same styll, I wyll retourne to
your sthe.

It foloweth / I shall come to the
Synode whā I am called onles I shal
be lawfully let. But whye do you not
sweare to compell the poope to call a
counsell: seinge that it hath ben so of=
ten, and so instantly required of him, bi
many and noble princes of christendom

yt

ye seinge that all Christendome dothe
require with great sighes/an order to
be taken, and set in the highest articles
of our fayth: but vnto this you are not
sworne. And why, because it is agaynst
your holy popet of rome. For yf there
were a general consel/both he, and you
doth knowe, that there muste nedes fo
lowe, both ouer hym and you a streight
reformation. Therefore after my coun
sell say/that you can not come, for you
be lawfully let/it followeth I shal ho
nourably entreate the popes Legate,
both goinge, and comming, and in his
necessitie I shal helpe hym. I pray you
se, and prouyde well, that he goo not a
begginge. as Peter did, And se alsoo,
that he neyther preache nor teache, but
pyll/and poule, with all mischefe, and
vnshamefastnes. and why, because you
are sworne this to maintaine, It folo=
weth, I shall visite yerelie my selfe, or
by some other messenger the poope of
rome, onles I be dispensed with of the
I praie you what pertaynethe this to
the office of a byshop, yearely to visite
rome, Christ & the moste of his apostles
were neuer at rome, and yet they were
metelie good Christen men. But I rede
in the tradicions of the Turke, that cer

taine

a supplycacion vnto the moost gracyous
In vi. li. i de maiorit. & obedientia. Dilecti filii, De iure iurã do. ca. ego in verbo singulis.

taine of theym muste yearelye visite their Machomet. From whom I thinke you haue taken this custome. your owne lawe saythe, that vnto this clause muste these byshops all onelye be bounde, that be immediatly vnderneth the pope. Now are not you suche for you swere in your oth to the kinge that you will immediatly take youre bisshoprikes of him, and holde it al onely of his grace. Wherfore than do you here swere agaynst your owne lawe. And also agaīst your oth made to your prince. Moreouer you know that there was an olde custome, in the dayes of Kyng Henryȳ ii that no byshop should go out of the realme, without the kinges licence. Are you not bounde to kepe this Custome. But aunswer, That the pope hath dispēsed with you, and that you are not bounde to kepe any obedience towarde the actes that your prince maketh. Moreouer I marualle sooze, that you be al so straitlie swozn of so longe time, and neuer one of you that euer went in my daies to rome, to discharge his othe. And why because you are dispensed with. But were it not as good to leaue it out of your oth at the fyrst, seinge you intende not to

kepe

kepe it as afterward to dispense wt you for it. Notforloth, for thꝑ pope could not bind you to com to rome at his plea sure, and betraye your kynge, and all his councelles. But in your othe that is newlye made, ꝑ that you haue swor ne lasse, is added, That if the pope be on this side the mountaynes, you shal visite him euery yere, But yf he be be yonde the mountaynes, than euery, iii yeares. None that knewe not youre practise and circumstaunces of youre factes that hath bin done, wolde lytle suspecte this addicion. But the verye truthe is, there is a mischeuous and abhominable treason in it agaynst prī ces. For yf it chaunsed the emperoure or els any temporall prince neare vnto rome, to fall at variaunce with the pope/than dydde the Poope streyghte ronne vnto Fraunce/that is to saye/on this syde the mountaynes/where you must visite hym yearlye. And whye. Because your god is in distresse/ and hath conceiued a deedlye hatered a= gainst a prynce/and can not bring it to passe without youre helpe and couñ sayle. Wherfore you must come yerly. And also yt must knowe throughe your betrayeng, how your prince is minded

and

and whether he be addicted to his contrarie part or not. yf he be thã muste you betraie his counsel, & þ yerely. And why bicause þ Pope is on this syde þ mountais. But & yf he be in Rome, & hath al princes neckes vnder his gyrdell, thã is it sufficient that you come euery thyrde yere. For you can at ons commyng, deuyse as moch treason, as princes shall auoyd in fyue yeres, but what belongeth this vnto a bysshope. that the pope is on this syde the mountayns. or beyounde, yf ye be bound by Gods lawe, yerely to viset the pope, than muste you visite hym, whersoeuer he be, though he were eyther with God or the deuyll. And yf you be not bound by Gods lawe, what a presumptiõ is it of hym to bynde you ye what an ouersyte is it of you to let youre selfe thus to be bounde. And what a wyckednes is it of you: so straytely to to kepe this othe. to the which you ar not bounde by scripture, agaynste youre obedience made to your prynce whiche is commaunded by Gods worde: But I pray you what exãple hath eyther he or you of blessed saynt Peter, to bynde by the vertue of an othe the other apostles yerely to visite hym

at

at Rome All the worlde may perceyue. ꝓ this othe is inuented of insaciable coueytousnes, that the Pope and you haue towarde honours and dignities. And that is well declared by these wordes, that folowethe in youre othe The possessyons of my churche, I shal not sell, gyue, lay to morgage, or make any feffemēt, or by any other meanes alienate the same, without the counsell of the Pope, But I pray you tell me one thynge, why do you not swere that you shall neither die, nor yet receyue anie possessions to your churche, nor you shall neyther pylle, nor poull, nor shaue, to increase the possessions of your churche. But the truthe is, Al is fyssche that commeth to the nette with you. And yf it come ones within youre cloukes, it neuer cōmeth out agayne, though the kyng & his realme shulde stande in neuer so great nede. But to receyue all his laude, you are alwayes redye, and it is not agaynste youre othe: I do not say thus, bicause I wolde ye shulde selle, or alyenate ꝓ possessyons of the church, but bicause I se that ther is nothyng mayntayned by them, but al onely youre mischeuous pompe and pryde youre owne

lawe

tii.quest.ii.c quatu,et de cedentibus. it. Vos est

law cõmaundeth, that the fourth part of the spiritual goodes, shoulde be distributed amonge poore men. And for that cause they be called/bona peuperum, But howe lyttell them parte is all the worlde can testifie, wherfore do you swere, not to alienate youre goodes without the Popes licence. the Pope gaue them not to you, but the kinge, and his subiectes. How cõmeth he now to be so nere of youre counsel in alienatynge them, and the kynge is thruste out, the whiche hath deserued beste to be of your counsel. But do you not remembre youre owne lawe, the whiche doth forbyd that the pope in any wise, or for anye necessite, shulde alyenate the goodes of the churche except it be olde houses, which can not be kepte without great charges. This is youre owne lawe, and agaynste this wyll you swere. Than must you nedes be periured, for yf you alyenate youre goodes with the popes licence, than is this decre agaynst you, and curseth you. Wherfore than put you this in your othe, seyng you can not alienate. youre goodes with his cõsent, nor yet without. It folowethin your new oth decrees, ordynaunces, sentences dispo sions/ reseruations, prouysions, and

tii.quest.ii.c not licitat, Pape,

com

commaundementes apostolyke, with all my pawer I wyll obserue, & shall cause other men to obserue the. These thynges were added whan this ydole was brought so hyghe that no man durste woynche agaynst him. And whā he myght slay and do what he wolde.

And as your law commaundeth, no man so hardy to aske hym why he doth so. Than begā decres, ordynaunces, despolycions, dyspolycions, relexuacyons, prolyxyons, with lyke shamefulnes for to sprynge: And there is no remedy, but they muste contynue. And why? Bicause you are swoine to kepe them your selfe, & to compell other mē also to kepe the. And out of the keping of this part of your othe, springeth an other sentence that folowyth, whiche is this. All heretykes, sysmatykes, & rebelles, towarde our sayde holde the pope to my power I shall persecute & withstande. This is the clause that hath made vs poore men so great heretykes. For it can neuer be proued, that euer we spake against god, or our king and yet be we heretikes. And why, for sothe because the bysshops are swoin to the popes decrees, the whyche condempneth all them for heretykes, that

In vi elit iii ca ad apost in verbo cō tinetur

that speaketh against his holines, thoughe he be as holy as my horse. For he saith him selfe in his lawe that he nedeth not to be holy him selfe: but it is sufficiente / that he sitteth in an holie seate. These be his wordes: Who doubteth but he is holy, ꝑ which is exalted to so great a dignitie: in whom though good workes of his own merites be wãtinge, yet are those good workes sufficient the which were done by his predecessours. vppon the whiche texte their glose saith, that if it be openlie knowē that the poope be an aduoulterer, or a murderer. yet ought he not to be accused. ꝛc.

dist. xl. capit. Non nos

Now we poore men can not suffre such mischeuous vices. wherfore we muste be heretikes. But whie because my lordes the bisshopes are swornc to persecute vs. But neuertheles, I truste to Gods grace, and the Kinges, that my lordes the bysshops, wyl not be so hard in this poinct of their othe, as they haue bene. And whie. Because men may now come to their answuer. Shortlye there be many clauses in this last oth added, that be cleare iniurie vnto princes, and against gods lawe and mannes lawe. And yet our bisshops will swere them

them. ye and that, whiche is worste of all, they wyll accuse other men of treason and rebellion. And there is no man sworne to treason, nor rebellion, but they onely.

¶ Wherefore moste gratious prynce, with all meknes and lowlynes that is due to so noble a prince, and also that dothe become a trew subiecte to do. I lowely and meklie require and desire youre grace, to iudge betwene the bisshops, and me/which of vs is trewest and faithfullest to God, and to youre grace. I speake all onely of those bisshops that hath, and also wolde nowe (if they durst/defend the pope, and his lawes. Againste them I make this supplicacion, and against them haue I declared the learninge and doctrine, that I haue both taughte, and wrytten. And as for my factes, and dedes. what I haue done against God, and your grace I requyre them to lay theyr vttermost that they can proue/or elles by your gracious fauoure I am here presente/ and offer my selfe to proue them liers And that vnder an ymaner of payne, that your grace shall assigne. And against them I haue declared ye lerninge and doctrine of their churche/and also

The wrytters petició of the kynges grace.

brought examples of their factes and
dedes, with the which they haue putt
their doctrine in exercyse. Nowe if
thei be greued, or thinke them sel-
ues wrongefully handled of
me thā I require no more
of youre grace, but in
differently and
graciously,
to here
both
them and me: the which thing,
no doubt, as youar grace doth
knowe/oure heuenly fa-
ther doth require of
you. who pre-
serue youre
hygh-
nes in all honoure and
diguitie.

A M E N.



Moste gracious prynce, that youre grace shulde knowe what cause of heresy that the bysshops had agaynst me, for the whiche/they so vnehartitably, and so cruelly hath cast me away. Therfore haue I set out the articles that were layde againste me, and as they were layde agaynst me, as I wyll be reported by their owne actes, and bookes. The whiche articles doubteles were vncharitably/and falsely gathered againste me, in a sermon that I made in Cambrige, in saint Edwardes churche. Wherefore I wyll beseche youre grace with all meknes, and lowlynes, to be my gratious lorde, and prince. And not to suffre me thus shamefully, and cruelly, against all law, and conscience, vterly to be vndone, & cast away. But of your moost highe goodnes to suffre me to come to myne aunswer. And than if I can not iustifie my cause, I wyll be at your gratious commaundement, to be punished after right and conscience

An.do.m.d. xxv.die. xiiii Decembris.

IF thou beleue that thou arte more bounde to serue god to morowe why the is Christmesday, or of Esterdai/ of whytsonday for any holynes that is more day more than in a nother /than art thou no faithfull christen man but superstitious And S. Paule is egayn̄st the sayeng you do obserue dayes yeres monthes and tymes. For vnto a fayth= full christen man euery dayē ought to be Christmasday, Esterday & whyt= sonday The which thyng the fathers consyderyng that thou dyddest not obserue yea & that thou woldest neuer obserue/yf it were leit to thy iudge= mente / because thou arte gyuen so mothe to worldly busines, For that cause they haue assigned the certayne dayes to come to the churche to praye to gether to here the worde of God to= gether and to receyue the blessed sacra= mēt together what faut fīd you in this article because I say that one day is not holyer than a nother. I pray you what is the cause or what nature is in one daye that is not in a nother whereby that it shulde be holyer than the other Because you wyll saye that we halowe the remembrance of Christes byrth & of

the first ar= tic=.

Galath. v.

holye helye daye = were ordeyned.

of christes resurrection in one day, and not in another. This thinge / I saye, must you do euery day for christ is euery day borne, euery day risen / euery day ascended vp, And this must you beleue euery day stedfastly. This muste you sanctifie in your harts dayly, & not one daye. ¶ Nowe vary we but in this thig you saie, that we ar bounde to sanctifi but one christmasdaie in the yere, and that is superstitiousnes, and heresie, saie I not that I condempne your one daie, but that you set it to one daie all onelie, that we are bounde to do euerie daie. Brealy, my lorde of Rochester alowed this article laienge. He wolde not condempne it for heresie, for an. C. li. (this was a great somme of monete) but it was foolishlie saide, quod he, to preach this that were afore the butchers of Cambridge. As who say, thei were all butchers, þ were at þ sermon and not the moost part of the vniuersitie. But the byshop of Bathe asked me whether we might labour on the holy daies or not, seinge it is written. Thou shalte obserue thine holye daie. I answered, þ christen me were not bound to abstaine frō bodely labour by þ cōmaūdement, for it was so giuen to þ iewes.

Let vs not play þ ines.

A.i

that wolde they not do yf it were as gainst gods commaundement

And yf we were bound to abstain from bodely laboure by that commaundemēt than was the kynges grace and al his counceli, my lord Cardinal, and al his councel, in the waye of dampnacion, For they cause men to carie their stuffe on the holy daye, what day soeuer it be, whan they wyl remeue At this reason all my lordes were astonied, & wyste not what to saye: thei were loth to condēpne my lord Cardinals grace seinge he was so holy a prelate of Christes churche, and that fact thei coulde not deuie wherfor at the laste, my lorde of Rochester remembred hym selfe & obiected i this maner. A goodli reason, I wyl make you a like reason The bisshope of wynchester sufferety the stuys, ergo, the stuis be lawfull. At this reason, I mernailed moch. For I perceiued, that it was as lafull for our noble prince to carie stuffe on the holy daie, whiche is not againste the worde of god, as it is for an harlot of ỳ stues to liue in open whordom, whiche is againste the worde of God. And yet my lordes ỳ bysshoppes of their great charitie and of their innumerabl spirituall treasure sufferety agaynste their conscieuce bothe to be done. Bre-

uelye

uely it were to longe to reherse all the
vncharitable maner that theie did vse
with me. And yet ernestlie I must be
condempned poore man as an heretyk
But I wyll recite the sayenges of
doctors for myn men may se how sham
fully I haue erred. Saint Hierome
saith, Therfore be certeine dates assig
ned. that we shulde come together,
not that/ ẏ daie, in the whiche we com
together is holier than an other, but
all daies be like and eqall And Christe
is not alonlie crucified in parasceden
e rilen onely on the sondaie but, ẏ daie
of resurrection is alwais and alwaies
maie we eare of our lordes flesshe. &c.
Here sayne Jerome saith the selfe wor
des, that I spake. And of these wordes
was I moued to speake, as god dothe
knowe. Also s, Augustin sayth, we must
obserue the sabboth daye, not that we
shulde recken our selfe not to labourre,
but that all thinge that we dos worke
wel/ must haue an intencion to the euer
lastynge reste. Wherefore we muste ob
serue the holy daye, not by corporall y-
dienes, vnto the letter, but spirituallye
must we rest from vices. and concupis-
cences. Wherefore amonge all the ten
commaundementes. that of the saboth

Gala. iiii
all dayes b
alyke

Epiſte. c. xi

day

daye is alonly cõmaunded to be figura tyuely obserued.&c. Also Tertulyan. The carnall circũcision is put away, & extincted at his tyme. So lykewyse ꝧ obseruacion of ꝧ sabboth day is declared to befor a tyme for we must kepe ꝧ sabboth day, not alonely the seuenth day but at al tymes, as Esai sayth.&c, But here my lorde of Rochester sayde, first, that I vnderstode not Tertalian, secondarely, that he was an hereтyke. But I passe ouer myne aunswere, for this is but a lordly word, and he could none otherwise saue his honour, but yet standeth my scripture faste. And saint Jerom. and sayut Augustine, and also their owne law, whose wordes be these. It is come vnto me, that certaine men, whiche be of an euyll spirit, haue sowen certayne euyl thynges amonge you, and contrarye to the holy fayth so that they do forbyd, that men shulde worke on the sabboth daye, The which men, what other thinge shall we call them, but the preachars of Antichryst, the whiche Antichristes shall make the sabboth daye, and the sonday be kepte from all maner of worke, &c. This law clerely declareth you to be Antichristes this is more than I saide, I haue great

Aduersus Iudeos,

Deconsecra die, iii. capy peruenit,

great meruayle, ꝑ the bysshop of Bath,
beinge so mighty a lorde in condemp-
nynge of heretikes, was not lerned in
this law, seinge it is his owne faculte.

NOwe dare no man preache the
truthe, and the verye gospell of
god, and in especial they that be
feble, and fearfull. But I trust, ye and
I praye to god, that it maye shortelye
come, that false and manifeste errours
maye be playnely shewed. There be cer-
taine men lyke condicioned to dogges,
yf there be any man, that is not, theyr
countremen, or that they loue not, nor
knowe not, say any thing against them
than cry they, an heretike, an heretike,
ad ignem, ad ignem These be dogges,
that fere true preachers, What herely
find you in this article? I do thinke, ꝑ
you do fele my prayer to be herde. For
doubtles, there be manye shamefull er-
rours nowe manifestly opened, that at
those dayes had bene herelye to haue
touched them.

The second article.

WE make nowe a dayes many mar-
tirs, I trust we shal haue many
mo shortly. For ꝑ veritie coulde
neuer be preached playnly, but persecu-
tion did folowe. Here dydde my lorde
of Bathe inquire of me/ If I reckened
them

the thyrde article

them for martyrs, that were brente at Bruselles, I rekened as manye men to be martyrs, as were persecuted and dyed for the worde of god, but he sayd, he wolde make me to frye for this. Howe thynke you by this holy prelate, was not this a charitable argument to refel myne answer with. But this was the strongest argumente, that euer they vsed, And peraduenture I maye se the daye, that this argument may be made against them.

the fourthe article

THese lawes these lawiers/ these Iusticiares, that say that a man may lawfully aske his awn good afore a iudge, and contende in iudgemente haue destroyed al pacens deuocio and fayth in christen people. On this article hangeth also the next.

the fifth article.

THis pleatynge in iudgemente is manifestlye against the gospell Lu. xii. Homo quis me constituit iudicem. And contrarye to S. Paule Iam omnino delictum est. &c.

MY aduersaryes most vncharitaybly laid these two articles against me/as though I had condempned the lawe maker, lawe and execution therof whan I only spake against the vncharitablenes of some men whiche rather seke

seke vengeaunce of their bretherne, tha
any right or helpe of the lawe. Nor I
speake not against al lawyers or against
any for pleding iustly, after the forme
of the lawe But onely against those,
which taught mē, that they wer bōūd
to prosicute the vttermost of the law/
vnder the payne of deedly synne, were
the man neuer so poore and vnlike to
paye the dette. Against these two per=
sones spake I and against none other
For it is not, nor neuer was myne in=
tent to forbyd suyng at the law, for I
do know very wel ỳ magistrates is of
god. Ergo it must nedes folow, ỳ al la=
wes hauynge probable reasons of na=
ture, made to conserue a cōmen welth
muit also be alowed of God, for the la
wes be a part of ỳ power that is insti=
tuted of god Moreouer S. Paule doth
appele to the emperoure, which is al=
so pars litis. And that he coulde not
do. yf suynge were symplicite for=
byden. Also good lawes be gods giftes
wherefore it muste nedes folowe that
we maye lawfully vse them
But as men may mysuse connyng, and
beautie, so may men also misuse the ex
celleut gyfte of the lawes not that la=
wes

wes be cupll, but bicause we vse them not to thintēt, that they were ordened for. No man doutcth, but in vsyng of all gods creatures, ther must be an epi kya. that is a meane, a measure, and an order, so ꝑ no man may therby destroy his neybour agaynst the order of chas rytie, whiche is a gayde, and a ruler in vsynge of all creatures. As for men to make armour in a hole countrey, for a tryfle, or els for a mā to serue his neis bour, whiche is not able by no meanes to pay his dette, and so vtterly to vn= doe hym, and to take none ende with him, but after the extremite of the law I say ꝑ this maner of sewtes do not become christen men Ubi transgredi= tur equitatis. et charitatis limites.

And that al men may clerely perceyue, that these onely was both my wor= des, and intent, I shall reherse the oc= casion, ꝑ moued me to speake of the la= wyes, & sueters. The cause was this. ¶ There was a poore man deed, and had made a nother poore man his exe= cutour, and bequethed in his wyll to a churche in Cambrige a kettyll, worthe ii. s. iiii. d. the whiche kettyll was af= terward required by the churche war= den. But this executour beinge a poore man,

man, and not able to gyue this bequest at that tyme, therfore he desyred the churche warden of longer respite, but he couldē not be herde. for the churche wardē wold haue hym vtter most of ꝑ law & shewed hym before ꝑ cōmissary, sat ꝑ lasse, condempned hym vnto prysone, where he lay, and neyther was able to pay his dette, nor to helpe his wyfe, & chyldren. Nowe, bicause I myght do somthyng with the churche warden, therfore the poore manes wyfe came weppynge, and waylynge to me, desyrynge me in ꝑ way of charyte to speake to the churche warden, for to be good to her poore husbande, wherby I was moued to sende for this my frende, his name is called Johñ Drake, a man well knowne in Cambrige, vnto whom I spake in this maner. Countreyman, I am very sory to here of your vncharitable demeanoure, here hathe bene with me a poore woman weppyng, and waylyng, & cryeng out, howe you haue vndone her, her poore husbande, and her myserable chyldren, for all they haue not one bytte of bread, towardes theyr fode, nor she is not able to labor. wherfore I meruayle sore at you, that you wyl be so extreme vnto poore me,

whom

whom god hath vysited with pouerty to proue your charitie what mercy wil you haue at christes hande, that which is so extreme vnto your poore neighbour whom he hath bought with his precious bloude. Vnto this he made me answere on this maner. Howe that thing pertayned not to him, but vnto the churche. wherfore he sayde that all doctours of lawe dydde saye, that they must sewe therfore vnder the paine of deadly synne. And if it were wrong why did they learne so. Now I had many wordes vp him betwen him & me, as concerninge this matter. But the nexte daye whan I preached by the reasō that the selfe man stode afore me in the church was I brought to remembrance of the case, that he and I had commoned of, And bycause I had not clerely conuerted hym, therfore I resited the case in a parable, that no mā knew what I mēt but he and I. And of this thinge was I moued (as God knoweth) to speake of seuters, the which I thinke in this case no christen man can allowe. And therfore I saye in myne article these lawbyars. Nowe is there vtterly sinne amonge you sayth Paule, because you goo to lawe one with another. Why rather

the euel counsel of the doctours of lawe

1. cor. 6

rather suffre you not wronge, why ra- Math.v.
ther suffre you not youre selues to be
robbed. Also our mayster sayth yf any
man wyll sewe the at the lawe, and
take thy coote from the/ let hym haue
thy clooke also.

May not I saye these wordes where- I do not con-
fore wer they written by the holy goste dempne su-
but that they shulde be lerned / Here ynge but in a
our maister Christ, and s. Paule spea case.
keth against suters, no man can denye
it, the text is so clere, Nowe what su-
yng can be vnlawfull / yf this be not
vnlawfull against the whiche I dyd
speake. Here is a poore mā / wyfe and
chyldren destroyed/and no charitable
wayes taken with the poore mā wher
by he might make restitucion. And my
lernynge saith. That Summus ius sum
ma iniuria est. Wherfore I wyl be iud
ged by al christen men yf I ought not
in this case to gyue my frend counsell
not for to sue. Or whether I be wor- The spiritual
thy to be condempned for an heretike lye forbideth
bicause I counsell my frende & brother prestes to sue
rather to suffre wrong than for to wn in causa can
do an hole housholde for a noughtye guinus et la
lewde kettel, But let vs se howe the men non dāp
holy doctours/that hath writtē ouer nant legis &
these places of scripture doth expoñ thanasius
them

them.

¶ Fyrst, Athanasius, on this texte of saynt Paule, that I bynge: There is vtterly synne amonge you, that is to say, It is, to your condempnation, and to your ignominy, that you do exercise iudicials amõge you. wherfore do you not rather suffre wronge.

Alle saynte Hierome, It is synne vnto you that you do agaynst the commaundement of Christe, that you haue iudgementes amonge you, the whiche oughte alwayes to kepe peace, yea, thoughe it were with the losse of your tẽporall goodes. wherfore do you not rather suffre wronge where as ye oughte by the cõmaundement of the gospell, & by the example of the lorde pacientli to suffre, there do you the contratye, not all onely not suffre, but you do wronge vnto them, that do no wronge &c. Marke howe saynt Hierome calleth it a precept, and a cõmaundmẽt, & no counsell, And also calleth it synne, to do agaiust this cõmaundemẽt. Like wyse Haymo saith: It is offence, and synne in you ỳ youhaue iudicials, For accusation engendreth strife strife engendreth discord, discord engendreth ha-

these doctours wyll not, nor can destroy al iudicials, but onely vncharitable sewtes

Haymo ad Corin. vi.

hatred And lest parauenture they wold saye: this is no synne to require myne owne Therfore sayth the apostle Truelie it is sinne vnto you for you do agaynste the cõmaundement of the lorde the whiche sayth De that taketh awaye thy thy good aske it not agayne wherfor do you not rather suffre losse ye myght fulfull the cõmaundement of the lorde. &c. Marke how he calleth it the cõmãdement of God & it is syn to ask our owne with cõtencio Nowe what haue I saide in mine Article. that holie scripture and also holie doctours do not saie But after this came a doctour of lawe whom I knewe not & said, that their lawe had condemned this opinion and declared those scriptures to be but coũsels. But I denied that & saide I knewe no suche lawe, And so deinly doctour Steuin, nowe by shoppe of wynchester shewed me their lawe, whose wordes be these, Illud euangelii, si quis abstulerit. &c. non est precipientis sed exhortantis. Nowe let euery christen man iudge, whether that these wordes of their lawe be of sufficiente auctoritie, to refell the holy wordes of scripture or no. But than came doctor Wolman. and he broughte this texte.

Luce. vi.

If it be a cõmaundement vnsell thou can ye not condempne it for herby.

If thy brother do offende the, than tel the churche. what is that (sayd he) tel the churche? to whom I answered, þ this place made not for his purpose, al legyng Saynt Augustin for me. For it speaketh of the crymes, that shulde be reprened by the congregacion, and not of the correccion of þ temporal swerd. It also foloweth, yf he here not þ churche, counte hym as an hethen, and as a publicane. This is the vttermoste payn that our M. Christ assigneth there, the which is no payne of þ temporal lawe. But at this answere, was he sore moued, and sayde: yf I dyd abyde by it. I shulde be brunte. This was a sharpe sentence, of so great a man as he is. Appelles was a iely wyse felowe, þ sayde ons to a shomaker, Nec sutor vltra crepidã. But neuertheles let hym, & them burne as many as they can, yet it is playne, þ I haue spoken neuer a word, but the holy scripture, & holy doctours say the same, both in sentence, and in wordes, wherfore I can not se howe they can condempne this article, for hereseye, yea, and I dare say for them, that they reaken it none hereseye, nor they dyd not condempne me for this article.

They vnderstode myne answere so wel that they were then cõtent Wt me.

I wyll

I wyll neuer beleue, nor yet I can nes
uer beleue, that one man may be by
the lawe of God a byshop of .x. or .xx.
cities, yea, of an hole countrey, for it is
contrary to saynt Paule, which sayth,
I haue lefte the behynde, to set in euery
citie a byshop. And yf you fynde in one
place of scripture, that they be called Epi-
scopi, you shal fynde in dyuers other
places, that they be called presbiteri.

The fyrst ar
ticle.
Canum.i

¶ I was brought afore my lord Cardi
nall in to his galary, and there he red
all myne articles, tyll he came to this,
and there he stopped, and sayd, that this
touched hym, & therfore he aked me, if
I thought it wrong, that one byshoppe
shulde haue so many cities vnderneth
hym, vnto whom I answered, that I
coulde no lother go, than S. Paules
texte, whiche set in euery citie a byshop
Than aked he me, yf I thought it now
vnryght (seinge the ordinaunce of the
churche) that one byshoppe shuld haue
so many cities? I answered, that I knewe
none ordinaunce of the churche (as con-
cernynge this thynge) but saynt Pau-
les sayinge onely. Neuertheles, I dyd
se a contrary custome, and practise in
the worlde, but I knowe not the origi-
nall therof. Than sayde he, that in

The Cardi-
nall and doc
tour Barns
reasoned to
gether.

But there-
fore was I
an heretyke

the apostles tyme, ther were diuers cities, some .vii. mile, some .vi. mile longe and ouer them was there set but one bysshop, and of their subbarbes also. So lykewise now, a bysshop hath but one cittie to his Cathedrall churche, and the countrey aboute is, as subbarbes vnto it. We thought this was farre fecched, but I durst not deny it, bicause it was of so great auctoritie, and of so holy a father, & of so great a diuine. But this dare I saye, that his holines could neither proue it by scripture, nor yet by any auctorite of doctours, nor yet by any practise of the apostles, & yet it must be true, bicause a piller of the churche hath spoken it. But let se what the doctours say to myne article. Athanasius dothe declare this text of the apostle. I haue left the behynde. &c. He wolde not commit vnto one bysshop a whole ylde, but he dyd inioyne, that euery cyttie shulde haue his propre pastor, supposynge, that by this meanes they shulde more diligently ouerse the people, and also that the labour shuld be more easy to bere, &c. Also Chrisostome on that same texte, He wolde not that a whole countrey shulde be permitted vnto one man, but he enioyned vnto euerye man his

Dotygmentū

If I fained such a thyng I shulde be an heretike, &

Athanasius

Chrisostom.

his cure, by that meanes he knew, that the labour shulde be more easye. and the subiectes shulde be with more diligence gouerned, yf the teachers were not distracte with the gouernynge of many churches, but had cure and charge of one church onely. &c. Me thinketh these be playne wordes, and able to moue a man to speake as moche as I dyd. But graunte that you maye haue all these cities, yet can you make it none heresye. For my lorde Cardinal graunted, that it was but agaynst hym and against you, whiche be no goddes. But I poore man must be an heretyke/ there is no remedye, you wyll haue it so, And who is able to say naye: Not al scripture. nor yet god him selfe.

IT can not be proued by scripture, a man of the church shulde haue so great temporall possessyons. But they wyll say, yf they had not so great possessions, they coulde not kepe so many seruauntes, so many dogges, so many horses, as pl. or. l. and mayntaine so great pompe, and pryde. and lyue so delitiously. what heresye fynde you i this Is it heresy to speake against your horses, and your hounds, and your abhominable lyuynge, And doubteles. ¶ The seuenth article.

I dyd

I dyd not say, but ꝑ you myght haue possessions, all onely I spake agaynst the superfluousnes, & the abuse of the for the whiche all the worlde wondereth on you: what mischefe is there in the worlde vsed, that is more clerely, & openly knowen, than that you do abuse the goodes of the church. And yet muste I be condempned for an heretyke for speakynge agaynste it. Alas, do you thynke, that God wyll suffre this violence, ꝑ you do vse agaynst poore men, I wyll stande in the daunger, & proue howe his Godly maiestie shall iudge this matter betwene you, & me. I dare truste hym with it.

The eyghte article.

SUre I am, that they can not by ꝑ lawe of God, haue no iurisdiction secular, & yet they chalenge both powers, which yf they haue, why do they not put thē both in vse. For they must say as the Iewes sayd: we may kyl no man. This is the article, that dyd bite you, for you can not be cōtēt with the office of a bishop, but you will be also kinges. Now that standeth with Goddes lawe, and with youre othe, I haue declared it to our noble prince. I doubte not but he will put you to the triall of it. Haue not you this ma-

nie

ny yeres condempned many a pore mā,
and than deliuered him to the tempo-
rall power to be put to deathe whiche
knewe nothinge of his cause. And yf
he wolde, that ye shoulde put hym to
death your selfe, than aunswered ye,
how you might kyll no man, So that
they were alwayes your haugman.

Officers be
but bysshops
hangemen,
god amēd it

THey say they be the successours
of Christ and of his apostles, but
I can se them folow none but Judas.
For they bere the purse, and haue all ꝑ
money. And if they hadde not so great
possessiōs, I am sure an C, wold speke
against them, where now dare not one
for losse of promotion, As for this ar-
ticle I wyll ouercome you with the
witnes of all the world, you may wel
condēne it for heresy, but it is as true
as your pater noster. Judas solde our
mayster but ones, and you sell hym as
often as he commeth in your handes.
But I wolde it were ꝑ ye could proue
me a lier, and that you folowed any of
the apostles sauynge Judas onelye.
yea, I wold ꝑ ye were in certayne poin
tes as good as Judas was. It had ben
better for you ꝑ you had not medled a
gainst me in these matters. For now I
am compelled to speake many thinges

The ninth
article.

which

whiche I wolde for shame of the world neuer haue spoken. But now that you will haue it so, take it to you, and make the best you can of it.

the tenth article

THere is not the greatest phatysei in this churche, but I am sure I prycke hym with these wordes, and he knoweth that they be true, thoughe he say the contrarye, and that do I well knowe. This article did I speake because of doctour Rydle, which on a tyme graunted in maister doctour Buttes house, that the byshops were clene out of order. And therfore I saye, that I knowe it

the leuenthe article.

THese ordinary byshops, and prelates do folow that false prophet Balaam. For they wolde curse the people, but by the prouisiō of God they are compelled to blisse them. that is to saye, to teache them to lyue well, thoughe they them selfe lyue moost mischeuously. And so the asses, which they ride vpon, that is the common people, haue their liues in abhomination. This is the haynous hereſy, For it speaketh against the holy fathers, which be almost as holy as Balams asse, that did ones speake the worde of god to a good purpose. And so do they neuer, But I

graunt

graunt that I dyd offende in callinge you ordinary bysshops, for I shuld haue called you inordinat butchers. And as for that that I compare you to Balaam, it is your owne law. ii. quest. vii. Secuti sunt. And cap. Nos ii. And as for your liuing all the worlde knoweth it. I coulde tell here many holy poyntes of bysshops liuinge, as keping of mens wiues, and doghters, but I wyl not, for I shulde be reckened vncharitable. But you maye do them, breakinge not your holy chastite.

ii. q. vii. Secuti sunt. & cap. Nos ii.

THey set vp an ydoll to deceaue the peolpe withal. whiche is called Baal peor, or Baal phegor, that is interpretated gaspinge, as their lawes, and constitutions, the which gaspe and gape to maintaine their worldly honour. They causeth do sacrifice by faire women, that is by their carnall affections, and swet wordes, so that God of Israel is forgotte And thus by theyr swete wordes, and benediction they deceyue symple people. These be the false maysters that saynt Petter speketh of. These be the fountaines without water, for they giue no good doctrine to the people. where is the hereste in this. bicause I compare

The. xii. article.

i. Pet. ii.

cõpare your lawes to Baall. But loke whether ꝑ interpretation of the word do agre with the nature of your lawes or not what al your lawes but mynish ꝑ auctorite of princes & of al other lordes & exalt yours only. Cal you not ꝑ a galpyng ydol Let this article stande tyll you be able to proue it hereby.

The.xiii. article.

NOw they sel vs, they sel the people they sell holie ordres their sel churche halowing, there is no better marchandise in chepe side: wilte thou know what is the price of a churche halowinge no lesse than. xl. shellinges. Thei sel pardons and remissions of sinnes as openlie as a cow & anoxe is solde, for they neuer graunt them without money The Suffrigan of Ely did axe of mayster John Burgold. xl. s. & the offryng, for halowing of S. Edwardes in Cãbrigé: ye & he wolde not do it so good chepe, qđ. he, but bicause he had a goddoughter buried in the churchyard. But this may be proued by examples ynoughe. For bryng ye forth one church in all Englande that you haue halowed without monie or without hope of monie, & I wil graunt mi conclusion false. And as for youre pardons, all the worlde knoweth

knoweth your handeling. I dare say it is the best marchandise in the world as you handle it. ¶ But was it not a marueilous blyndnes, & a great presumption, so cruelly to handle me for these Articles? was there no meanes to haue punished me for speakinge agaynst you, but þ I must nedes be an heretike I dare say, there is not one among you so shameles, þ dare come forth now at this day, & proue these articles hereby against me. But doubtles as longe as I liue, and am not restored to my name & fame againe, which you haue violētly taken away from me, wyll I be vnto you a deuyll, and a pestilence. I require nothing of you, but my good name/ & fame, to the which I haue right. And to the which you oughte of youre charitie to restore me, though I neuer required you. I thinke you haue punished me sore inough, for speakyng of a foly sshe worde or twaine against you.

The.xiiii.article.

Wylt thou know what they re benedictions is worth. They had rather giue the ten benedictiōs thā one halfpeny. Is not this a sore hearte. you ride thorow streetes, & townes, blessing mā, & stone, but you neuer giue halfepeny to man, nor child.

Nowe

the.xv. article.

NOwe is come a pardon, wherby they saye þ they haue powre to sende an hundred soules to heuē And yf they may so do, with out any further respecte, than may they lyke wyse sende a nother C. to hell, For it folowethe in the texte, quodcunque ligaueris, that is, whatsoeuer thou bindest Is not this a sore heresye, to say þ you may not rule this mater at your iugement. But this is a maruelous texte, Quodcunq; ligaueris, for it byndeth in helle, and loseth in heuen, it openeth mens purses, and cofers in erth, it deposeth princes, it interditeth landes, it loseth a man out of his coote: ye and ofteu tymes it loseth a man from his wyfe, ye and the horse out of the carte And all is done by this texte, quōcunq; ligaueris. Is not this a maruelous texte, þ hath so great powre I knowe not suche a nother in al the hole Bible

the.xvi. article.

IT is abhomynable to here howe they preache, & teache, that they may absolue a pena & a culpa, whiche I am sure is impossyble, as they vnderstand it Make of this what you can, and loke of your own scholastical doctours, The wyche lerneth boldly that the keys of the churche hath non

auctorite

auctozitie ouer ſynne noz yet ouer eter
nal payne But all only hath auctozite
to chaunge euerlaſtynge payne vnto
a tempozall payne. And the tempo=
rall payne the Pope maye chaunge
and take away at his pleaſure. And a
monge all tempozall paynes you te=
ken purgatozy the greatiſt. Ouer the
whiche the Pope hath full power.
This is your owne doctryne. Loke in Alexander, Duns, Bonauenture in iiii. ſent
Alexander de Hales in Duns and in
Bonauenture, in the. iiii. boke of the
ſentence. Nowe yf you wyl condempn
me, than muſte you fyrſte condempne
this your owne doctrine.

What is ꝑ cauſe that they forbid vs ꝑ we ſhulde not diſcuſſ how great theyr power is but bicau= The. xbii. ar tycle:
ſe that they wolde make all men ſoles
and holde vs in ignozaunce youre owu
ſcholemen ſay that the Popes power
is ſo great, that no man can, noz maye
diſcuſſe it Alſo your law cõmaundeth
That no man ſo hardy, as to aſke the
Pope, Lozde why do you ſo But put ꝑ
cauſe ꝑ this were a lye, yet is it farre
from hereſye. yet my lozdes ſay, that
I ſhall be an hereſyke And why ſay I.
Bicauſe we wyl haue it ſo, ſaye they.
yea and thou byſt not ſo cõtent thou
ſhalt

shalt be brãt. Mary I thãk you hertily my lords, pro bona vestra informatiõe.

The. xviii. article.

They haue a lawe most abhominable, and contrary to gods law and charite. to excõmunicat the people. iiii. times in a yeare, that is to say, those men that raise the rent of an house, that must you vnderstande, if it belonge not to the churche. For yf it belong vnto the churche, thou mayste raise it euery monthe ones, and no man shall curse the. Also thei curse them þ be not buried in their parissh church, that must be vnderstand, if that thei be rich men/for if they be pore, they may be buried amonge the friers, The bishop of Bath said, there was no such maner to curse men. And all the world knoweth the contrarye. Moreouer I red these articles, in þ boke of the generall curse, that belongeth to saintt Benettes church in Cambrige, & ther dyd I marke it with myne owne hand and yet the bishop was not ashamed to deny it. And why. Because I must be an hereticke, there is no remedy, the holy fathers hath so determined it.

The. xix. article

They haue miters with glistering precious stones. They haue gloues for catchinge cold in the myddes

of

of their ceremonies, They haue rynges and ouches, and other ceremonies, so many that there is in a maner now no thing els in the church, but all iewish maners. wyl you make this heresy. be cause I speake against your dampnable, & pompous miters. I thinke such ornamentes were to be condēned euē amonge heathen men, I wyll not saye amonge christen men. But this dare I say, that there was neuer no God amonge hethen men, that euer delyted in suche ornamentes/And yet you will serue the God of heauen by them. And your poore brother whom Christ hath redemed with his precious bloude dyeth in prysō, and openly in the strete & hangeth him selfe for necessitie, and yet wyll not you bestowe on hym so moche as one of your precious stones Tell me of one byshop that euer brake his miter to the helping of a poore man, was ther neuer man in necessite in englād. but al ỹ world may se what you be. These thinges be sensible ynough.

THese miters I can not tel from whēce they do come, except thei take thē frō the iewes byshops. The.xx.article.

And if they take them from the iewes, thā let thē also take their sacrifices

they ouercome all theyr enemyes, As synne, deathe and hell, and yet Saluo ordine bestro you lye, for you haue no worde of God for you. wherfore you muste be false prophetes. Here haue I compared of a similitude your mytres to the twe hornes, and you to false prophetes what if this be false what if I can not proue it yet can you make me neue heretike, For thā must you make those men heretikes, that haue compared the forkes of your miters to the newe, and the olde testamentes, and you to the true apostles, for they haue made a greater lye than I haue done, & they are neuer able to proue it. And as for me I will proue my saynge true if ye will stande to scripture or els will I be taken for an heretike

The .xxii. article

Here haue baculum pastoralem to take shepe with but it is not lyke a shepeherdes hoke for it is intricate and manifolde crooked, & turneth alwaies in so that it maie be called a mase for it hath neither beginning nor ending And it is more like to knocke swine and wolues in the head with, than to take shepe. Theie haue also pillers and pollares, and other ceremonies, whiche no doubte, be but trifels & thinges

thinges of nought. I praye you what is the cause that you call your staffe a shepeherdes staffe? you helpe no man with it: you comforte no man: you lift vp no man with it, but you haue stryken downe kynges, and kyngedomes with it, and knocked in the heade dukes and earles with it. Call you this a sheepeherdes staffe? There is a space in the shepeherdes staffe for the foote to come oute againe, but youre staffe turneth, & wyndeth alwayes inwarde and neuer outwarde, signifieng that what soeuer he be that commeth within youre daunger, that he shal neuer come out again. This exposition youre dedes do declar, let them be examined that you haue had to do with. And let vs se howe they haue escaped youre shepeherdes yoke, But these be the articles, for the whiche I must nedes be an heretike. Neuertheles all ye worlde may se howe shamefully, that I haue erred agaynst your holinesses in saying the truth. My lord cardinall reasoned with me in this article, all the other he passed ouer, sauyng this, & the first article. Here did he aske, if I thought it good and reasonable, that he shulde lay downe his pillers and pollaxes, & copme them? Here is the heresye that

is so abhominable. I made hym answere, that I thoughte it well done. Than sayde he, howe thynke you, were it better for me? (beynge in the honour and dignite that I am) to coyne my pyllers, and pollaxes, and to gyue ꝑ money to.v. or syxe beggers. than for to mayntayne the commen welthe by them as I do. Do you not recken (quod he) the cõmen welthe better than fyue or sixe beggers, To this I did answere, that I reckened it more to ꝑ honour of God and to the saluacion of his soule, and also to ꝑ comfort of his poore brethere that they were coyned, and gyuen in almes. And as for the commen welthe dyd not hange of them, for as his grace knewe, the cõmen welth was afore his grace, and must be when his grace is gon, and the pyllers and pollaxes came with him, and should also go away with hym. Notwithstandyng yf the cõmen welth were in suche a condicion, that it had nede of them, than myght his grace so longe vse them, or any other thing in theyr stede, so longe as the cõmen welth neded them. Notwithstandyng I sayd, thus muche dyd I not say, in my sermon agaynst them, but al onely I dampned in my sermõ ꝑ gorgi-

Where he they nowe

ous

bus pompe & pride of al exterior ornamentes. Than he sayde, well, you say very well. But as well as it was said I am sure that these wordes made me an heretike, for if these wordes hadde not ben therin, mine aduersaries durst neuer haue shewed their faces against me. But now they knewe well that I could neuer be indifferently heard. For if I had got the victorie thã must al ꝑ bishops, & my lord Cardinal, haue laid downe al their gorgeous ornamentes. For ꝑ which they had rather burne. xx. such heretikes as I am as all ꝑ worlde knoweth. But God is myghty and of me hath he shewed his power, for I dare say, they neuer intended thing more in their liues, than they dyd to destroy me, and yet God of his mercy hath saued me, against all their violence, vnto his Godly wysdome is the cause all onely knowne. The bysshop of London that was than called Tunstal, after my departyng out of prison, sayd vnto a substancyal man, that I was not deed (for I dare say his conscience dyd not recken me suche an heretike, that I wolde haue killed my selfe, as ꝑ voyce weute, but yet wolde he haue done it gladly of his charyte) but I was [illegible] said

[illegible] he

ye) in Amsterdam, wher I had neuer be in my lyfe (as God knoweth) nor yet in the countrey this ten yeres) and certaine men dyd there speake with me (saide) heand he fained certaine wordes, that they shulde say to me, and I to them, and added therevnto, that my lorde Cardinall wolde haue me again or it shulde coste hym a great somme of money, howe moche I do not clerely remembre. I haue marueyle that my lorde is not ashamed, thus shamefully and thus lordly to lye. all thoughe he myght do it by auctoritie. And where my lorde Cardinall, and he wold spēd so moche money to haue me agayne, I haue greate maruayll of it. What can they make of me? I am a symple poore wretche, and worth no mans money in the worlde (sauyng theirs) not the tēth peny, that they wyl gyue for me, And to burne me, or to destroye me, can not so greatly profyt them. For whan I am dead the sonne, and the moone, the starres, and the element, water, & fyre ye and also stones, shall defende this cause against them, rather than the veritie shuld perish. But yf they be so charytable to do good workes, and to spende their money so well, they haue

I am nowe here what say you to.

prise-

prisoners, and poore men ynowe in the land let them bestowe theyr money of them. And as for me I do promyse the here by this present wrytynge, and by that fayth that I owe to Christ Iesus and by that fidelite that I owe to my prynce that yf they wyll be bounde to our noble prynce, after the maner of his lawe, and after good conscience, and ryghte, that they shall do me no violence, nor wronge, but discusse and dispute these articles, & all other that I haue wryten, after the holy worde of God, and by Christes holy scripture with me. Than wyll I (as sone as I may knowe it) present my selfe vnto our moste noble prynce, there offrynge my selfe to his grace, that I wyll eyther proue these thynges by Gods worde ageynst you all, or els I wyl suffre at his graces pleasure. whom the father of heuen euer preserue in honour. Amen. And yf you refuse this condicion, than say that you be neyther good, nor charytable. For I dare say you can deuyse no more of a christen man.

Preestes do mumble, and rore out theyr dyrges, and masses in the churche, and churcheyardes for theyr founders, curyous to speke

The xviii article.

theyr

ye) in Amsterdam, where I had neuer be in my lyfe (as God knoweth) not yet in the countrey this ten yeres) and certaine men dyd there speake with me (saide) heand he fained certaine wordes, that they shulde say to me, and I to them, and added thereunto, that my lorde Cardinall wolde haue me again or it shulde coste hym a great somme of money, howe moche I do not clerely remembre. I haue marueyle that my lorde is not ashamed, thus shamefully and thus lordly to lye. all thoughe he myght do it by auctoritie. And where my lorde Cardinall, and he wold spēd so moche money to haue me agayne, I haue greate marueyll of it. What can they make of me? I am a symple poore wretche, and worth no mans money in the worlde (sauyng theirs) not the tēth peny, that they wyl gyue for me, And to burne me, or to destroye me, can not so greatly profyt them. For whan I am dead the sonne, and the moone, the starres, and the element, water, & fyre ye and also stones, shall defende this cause against them, rather than the verite shuld perish. But yf they be so charytable to do good workes, and to spende their money so well, they haue

I am nowe here what say you to.

prisō

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The.xxiii. ticle.

Priestes do mumble, and rore out they? dyrges, and masses in the churche, and churcheyardes for they? founders, curyous to speke

they?

their wordes distinctly. But I ensure them, that theyr prayers shal do them no good/ but only acceptatio diuina. As for this article ꝑ bishops dydde not make moch of, for they perceyued ꝑ it was gathered wout any sentence. For my saying was. That men should make theyr prayers in suche a fayth, & with suche a deuocion, that God myghte accepte them, and not sloydely, and without all deuocion bable, and say their dirriges/ alonly of bondage/ and of custome/ and not of deuocion. I broughte the sayinge of the Apostle for me/ wher he saith: Let your peticiõs, & praiers appere before God. And also he that asketh, let him aske in faithe, nothyng doubting.

phlipp. iii. Iacob i.

The xxiiii. article.

THere is no praier acceptable to God, except it be fetched frõ the fyre of the alter. This article was also gathered without any sentẽce, for my aduersaries did not greatlie care what they made of suche articles as pertey ned to lerninge & edefienge. And therfore they neuer erred so much as they dyd in them. For in those articles that were againste the bishoppes they did greate diligence and in a part of them gathered they mi verie trwe sentences

and

& mine owne wordes thought in those thynges they lefte out vncharitably, those wordes that made for my declaracion, & also for the probacyon of my sayeng, The whiche I haue also here lefte out, all onely addynge the artic̃les as they layde them agaynst me that all menne maye se the worst that they had agaynste me. For all menne maye thynke that they wyll neyther laye the beste, nor yet the truthe agaynste me. But this artycle dyd I thus preache, That men shuld not in theyr petic̃tion, and prayers, put theyr good workes, nor theyr good dedes, and theyr merites: As o lord I do faste, I do pray I am no theefe, I am in charite with al the worlde, and for them desyre God to be mercyful vnto them. But they shuld desyre the father of heuen to be mercifull vnto them, alonly for Christes merites. For they were the thinges whereby both we, and our prayers are accepted in the syght of the father. And to proue this I brought certeyne scriptures. As this, what soeuer ye shall aske the father in my name, he shall gyue it you. And also the tygure of ꝑ old law, where there was no sacrifyce done, but with that fyre that was taken frō ꝑ aulter.

the articles as euyll as they were layde of myne aduersaries.

Now

Now dyd I saie, that Christe is oure aulter. But this myne aduersaries vnderstonde not. But I meruayle what this article doth amonge the other heretical articles? I thynke they do not recken it heresy.

The.xxv. artycle,

He dyd not pray for the thre estates of holy church, nether made he his prayer in the beginnynge of his sermon, according to the old custome, but at the last ende, and for the true knowelege of al christen men, makyng no praier to our lady, nor for the soules in purgatory, nor for grace expedient. yf the bysshops had had anye indifferency in them, or any charitye, they wolde haue ben ashamed þ suche articles shuld haue ben brought afore them. What is this to the purpose of heresy, that I dyd not pray for the.iii estates of holy churche. And yet they graunte, that I prayd for all true christen mē, & that men myght come to the true knowelege. Is not al the church contained in this, But they be vncharitable men without al consideration, they be so blynded in their worldly honour, That I dyd not pray to our lady nor for the soules in purgatory/ what is that to heresy? For thau were the apostles

paules heretikes. for they dydde not
pray in their sermons to our lady, nor
yet for the soules in purgatory. And as
for prayinge for grace expedient, that
is not the preacher bound to do openly
But me thinketh by these articles, ꝑ
god gaue me a gret grace. that I durst
so boldely reproue their abhominable
lyuinge, not fearing the daunger that
shulde come therof, but this I leue to
other mens iudgemēt. And I dare bol
dely say, that if I had spokē ten times
asmuche against the auctorite of
our noble prince, and against
all his dukes, and lordes,
and had taken al power
both spirituall, & tem-
porall from them, &
gyuen it to our
ydle byshops
Than had
I ben a
faythfull christen man, for I had
defended the lyberties of ho-
ly church. But god sende
them his grace, and
space to conuert.
Amen,

The hole disputation betwen the byshops and doctour Barnes.

NOwe moost honorable, and gracious prince, here haue I shewed your grace the articles, that myne aduersaries vncharitably, hath layde against me. In the which though a great meny of my wordes, and sayinges were. yet neuertheles there was left out all those thinges, that dyd make for my declaration, and for probations of my wordes. And also for mollifieuge, and temperating of those thinges, that semed to be somwhat hardly spoken, against the byshops. The which thinges were to longe to recite vnto your noble grace. But as God is my iudge, and also my conscience, and all my wordes, and dedes, and all maner of my liuing, and conuersation, I dyd neuer entende, to speake against the byshops, or els any other man, further than their liuinge and conuersation were, against the blessed word of god, and the holy doctrine

of

of Christes church, For the truth is, there was no great clerke in the churche of god this, CCCC. yeares, ꝑ wrote any thinge, but he complayned vehementlye against thy lyuinge of the spiritualte. Let their bokes be broughte forthe, to proue whether my saying be truth or not. Alas is it not a pitious case, yea and also against al lawe and conscience, that I poore man shall be thus violently cast away, for speaking against these vyces, that ben dampned by almighty god: and by all his holye creatures: yea and the byshops themselues, and all the world must graunt that they do liue as euyll. ye & rather worse, than I dyd speake? Oh lord god where is loue to vertue? where is the shamefastnes that christen men ought to haue? wher is Justice? That I shal be thus shamefully cast away, for speakynge of that thinge that euerye christen man is bounde to speake? They do so lyue, And I beinge a preacher of the veritie muste be condempned, for speakynge against it. But moste gracious and myghty prince. God hath set your grace in the same honoure, and dignitie, that you by Gods ordinance, oughte to defende those men, that are

oppres

oppressed wrongfully. wherfore humbly, and mekely, and with all lowlynes and reuerence, I beseche your grace to mynyster vnto me gracyous iustice, and let me be herde indifferently. whether that I cā iustify my cause, with learning or not. If I cā not iustifie it, your grace is a minister of iustice. I wyl refuse no maner of payne that shall be dewe to my transgression. wherfore ons agayn with all mekenes, and lowlynes, in ye way of charite, and in Christes name, and for his swete blode sake, that he hath shed for your grace, ye & also by the vertue of your auctorite, that the heuenly god hath delyuered you, I do requyre, and desyre of your grace audience, and iustice. I and all myne parentes be your naturall subiectes borne, And a great meny of vs harbe dyed in youre gracyous quarell and yet is there none of vs/ but are readye to do your grace that seruice, with our bodyes, and bloude/ that shal becōe trewe subiectes to do, to theyr noble pryncē. wherfore thyrdely, in my name, and in al our names (for all they are rebuked in me) with all mekenes and reuerēce/ beseech your grace of gracious audiēce, & of fauorable iustice. This thynge I truste

truste your grace wyll not denye me/
Nor yet take any displeasure with me
your poore subiecte, for thus requirig.
For I haue none other prince, nor lord
to seke vnto here on erth, but vnto your
grace only. Nor I can come to no cha-
ritable ende with myne aduersaries.
wherfore I am compelled by extreme
violence. thus to complaine vnto your
grace, for my name, & fame, and estima-
tion. and al thinges that may belonge
to an honest poore man in this worlde,
is taken wrongfullye from me hereby
And hath ben by the space of. ix or. x.
yeres, which is no smal time, cõpelled
to lyue in misery, & obloquy. wherfore
moste gracious prince, lamentablye I
cry, & cal vnto your grace, for gracious
audience, & indifferent iustice. It were
to longe a processe to trouble your grace
with, to tell all the vncharitable hand
lynge, that the Cardynal, & the bysshops
appoynted by hym, dyd vse with me.
But I wyll make vnto your grace, a
shorte summe of, it, as nere as I can call
nowe to remembraunce.
¶ In ỳ yere of oure lorde. 1525. the. M.D.xxv
24. daye of December, dydde I make a
sermonde, at the request of the parysh
in saint Edwardes church of Cãbrige
out

out of the whiche sermonde dyd mine aduersaries gather these articles, whi che whan I knewe, I offered my selfe to preach againe the sonday folowing And to declare my selfe, and my meanynge clerely, But doctour Rydley, & doctour Preston, chaplens, & kynsmen to the bysshop of London, found ꝑ meanes that the vicechauncelour did inhibet me to preache. But I couldenot euer knowe any reasonable cause why, but that alonely he saide, it shoulde be for my profite to holde my peace. And of this I was so content. Tyl at the last that these forsayd doctors, with one maister Tyrell gathered in writynge certaine articles, and presented them to the vicechauncellour, whiche sent for me, and asked me, what I sayde to those articles. I aunswered: that thei were none of myne. But certaine wordes, and sentences there were in them that I had spoken but that was lefte out, that shulde make for my declaration. Wherfore I said, they were none of myne. And that I would be reported by the audience. To this he sayde, that I shulde take hede what I denyed, for if they brought witnes against me, thei must I nedes dye. I aunswered, that

the

the wytnes shulde be false, for I neuer spake them. Then sayde he, I coulde not proue a negatyue. I answered, that I wolde proue the wytnes false, what soeuer he were. He sayd, whether they were true or false, I must suffer for it yf witnes come in agaynst me, for that was the lawe. I sayd, how that was a pituous case, And by that lawe they myght condempne our mayster Christ He sayd, howr that I shuld remembre me what I dyd, for the mater was so daungerous, & so haynous in the lawe that I myght haue no counsell. Then I answered, and sayd, well, let God helpe, whiche knoweth all thynges. This was in ỹ vniuersite scholes, the dores shutte fast, no man beinge within on my party, but I alone. But of my aduersaries partye, was there doctour Rydley, doctour watson, doctour Preston, and a doctour of lawe, whose name I haue forgotten. There was also one mayster Fooke, & mayster Tyrell, whi the was appoynted amonge them, to be the presenter of these artycles.

Nowe the Vicechauncelour, whan he coulde haue no more of me, in cõmunicacion betwene vs, he asked me, what I wolde do, I answered, he shulde go

his waye, and set hym downe, & heare their complaint. And I wolde make such an answere, as god shuld put in my my mynde, He required me instantly, not to cast my selfe away. So he went and set hym downe. And I was called before hym, As soone as I came. Than stode for the maister Tyrell, and presented a role in the whiche were certaine articles (as he said) gathered out of my sermon of the whiche some of thē, said he, were contencious, some were seditious, some were slaunderous, and some were heretical. Whā he had thus spoken. Thā sayde I to hym. Good M. Tyrell, wyll you presente any of these articles as he reherse: At this worde spake the Vicechaunceloure to me, Good mayster doctour/let that passe. Wyll you be contēt to submit your selfe: Then sayde I whersoeuer I haue spoken agaynste gods worde, or against the exposition of holy doctours. I wyll be contente to be reformed / and to submytte my selfe. But with this was not doctoure Rydley, nor doctour Watson contente excepte I shulde adde vnto it. yf I had offended the lawes of the church. But at that I stopped. and sayde, it was to large. for I knewe not, what they mēt

by

by the lawes of the church/nor I was no doctour of lawe. wherfore I iudged it sufficient for me, to be reported by gods worde, and by the exposition of holy doctours. For that was my facul te. Than the vicechauncelour reasoned that it was sufficient for me. But we coulde not agre in a great space, in this thinge. Wherefore I sayde, I woulde agree to al maner of lawes, that were not agaynst gods worde, nor saint Augustine, nor saint Hierome, nor yet agaynst none of the foure doctours. So dyd it reste that day, at this poynt/and no more was handeled. For in thys time was the hole body of the vniuersite gathered together, and knocked at the scholedores, and sayd, they wold here the examination, seinge ꝑ matter was manifest. And these few persons shuld not take auctoritie on them onelye to here, & to determyne suche causes.

Than the vicechauncelour sent the bedyll to the doore/requiringe theym to be contente. But they were the more moued, and knocked sore. So rose the vicechauncelour, & went him self to ꝑ dore, & gaue them as good, and as fayr wordes as he coulde, But the conclusion was, they woulde not depart,

except they might here this matter tri-
ged, and as they saide, it appertained
to learnynge. And they were the body
of the vniuersitie. So the vicechaunce-
lour came backe againe vnto vs al, and
saide, we must giue ouer this matter
for the vniuersitie is in a rumour, and
so departed we a sonder . Thā with
in two or thre dayes after, was I cal-
led into Clare hall, to the vicechaun-
cellours chamber, wher were also the
forsaid doctours gathered agaynst me
There dyd they entreate me wt good
wordes, for to be content to be ordered
after maister vicechaunceloures coun-
sayll. I dyd requyre that maister vice-
chaunceloure welde indifferently here
me, and myne aduersaries together.
And than if I had saide any thinge a-
gainst learnynge, I wolde be ordered
at mayster vicechaunceloures commaū
dement. Than sayd they, that it was
done for my profite, that maister vice-
chancelour dyd not sytte in iudgemēt
For (as they sayde) they were all my
frendes, and wolde be lothe that my
matter shulde be herde in iudgement.
For if there came any witnes againste
me (as they were sure there wold) thā
were I but lost. I answered, what wit
nes

nes seeuer would come to proue those articles as they were layd agaynst me I wolde proue them false. For I had preached openly, and many lerned men were at my sermonde, and I doubted not, but they wolde testifie the truthe for bothe parties. But than answere was made me, that yf thre witnesses came against me, than wolde not three et twenty helpe me, for that was the course of the lawe. Than said I, This is a pituous case, that a man shall not be reported indifferently by his audience, seing it was in the vniuersite, But by .ii. or iii. false witnesses. Wherfore I woulde abyde the daunger, and let myne aduersaries do theyr vttermost. yf I shall thus dye. I must be cõtent (sayde I) I am no better than our maister christ. Than was there manye wordes vsed, and manye daungerous ways shewed me, to haue withdrawen me from this purpose. but I dyd stand faste in it. So they required me to goo backe into a chambre, & they comuned together secretely aloue. And at laste sent vnto me the vycechancelour, wyth the intreated me very soore, to be content with their ordynaunce. For by his conscience he coulde not perceiue

but

but thei were al my frendes, & intended to saue both my name & fame, which thei culd not do the law was so daungerous onles I wold folow theire counsell thā eſked I of M. Vicechancelour, what theie wolde that I shulde do, For truelī saide I these articles were falſelie, and vncharitablie laide vnto me. He answered, that there shulde be no ieo perdie in the matter, I shulde be con= tented to graunt them. But vnto that I wolde not agree in no wyse wherfore I desyred hym to departe agayne vnto them and I wolde come & make them a reſonable answere. So came I in ma= kynge this protestatiō fyrſte, Wyght worshypfull mayſters, I trust you be all my good frendes, & haue so moche charite in you, that you wyll not caste me awaye, onles you perceyue a great fauke, and obstinacy in me, the whiche I truste you shall not fynde, for I dyd neuer intende, to speake, nor yet to do, agaynſt Christes holy doctrine. Not= withstandyng, seing that the lawe is so daungerous, as maiſter Vicechaun celour, and you haue tolde me, Ther= fore I had rather put my ſelfe vnto your charite, than to stande to the dan ger of the lawe. And for this purpoſe,

to

to these articles that be layd vnto me thus I answer. These articles as they do here stande, were neuer myne, nor I neuer intented to speake them, as they be here wrytten. But neuertheles I do graunte, that here be many of my wordes, & also a great meyny of my sentences, that I dyd speake. Wherfore I do submyt my selfe vnto you, desyrynge you charytably to deale with me, and not to take my wordes to the worst sentence. As I had sayd thus, and suche lyke other wordes, Whan made they me to be swrene, to stande to the Vicechaunselours determinacyon. At that I stopped a great whyle, but at the last I graunted to abyde by his determynation, yf it were not agaynst lernyng, & charitye. And vppon this the Vicechaunselour assoiled me as they sayde, ab excommunicatione iuris. Nowe had they there standyng vnknowen vnto me, a notarye, which dyd make an instrument of al my agreementes. For I dyd not know, but that they handeled with me as frendes, and as priuate persones. And this instrument made by ꝑ notary, was afterwarde preſẽted vnto ꝑ court, for wytnes agaynst me, whã I was brought before ꝑ byshops. And as we were thus hãdelyng i ꝑ Vicechaun

celour

celours chambre, the Vniuersitie gathered together, so that the bodye of ꝑ Vniuersite was there, And than sente ꝑ certeyne maysters, and bachelours of diuinite to the vicechaunsloure, requirynge hym that they myghte be admytted to here the examinicio of me, in as moch as they had herde me preach. Answere was made agayne, that there was no suche matter in hand, but that they dyd handle with me frendly, to devise an ende moste to my profyte. By the reason of the whiche congregacio, we were compelled to departe asunder as for that tyme, And so rested the matter vntil, the space of a month. In the whiche tyme, doctour watson, and doctour preston, at the agrement of ꝑ Vicechancelour, wente and wrote a revocacion and made it of euery article by it selfe, makynge me in the reuocacion to grant the articles, as they were layde agayst me. Addynge also to euery article, that bycause some men had so vnderstande me therfore I shulde revoke ꝑ artycle, As in ꝑ fyrst article, where I had layd after the mynde of sayne Hierome, that all dayes were of lyke vertue. They added, ꝑ certayne men dyd take me, that I wolde haue no holy dayes. And therfor

fore I muste reuoke that artycle, as hereſye. Item, where I had ſpoke in myne articles agaynſt the gorgyous pompe, and pryde of ſpirituall ornamē-tes. They dyd adde, that certayne men dyd take out of my ſayinge, ꝑ I wolde haue no halowed chalyces, nor veſti-mentes, nor yet any ornamentes in the churche. And therfore I muſte reuoke that artycles, as hereſye.

And ſo in euery one of my artycles, where they coulde expounde a worde to an euyll ſentence, or els of malyce, make any myſcheuous, or ſedicionus ſay inge/that layde they to me/and wolde haue me reuoke it, as thoughe it had ben my ſayinge/and meanyng. So that there was neuer an article/ but that it was eyther hereticall, ſediſtious, contē-cious, blaſphemous, or elles, pijs auri-bus offenſiuus. ¶ More ouer/I had in that ſame place a good frende, the wiche wrote the ſame reuocacion pryuely/as faſt for me/as he dyd wryt it for doctour Preſton. The which man is yet alyue. Nowe whan I had this thyng in wrytyng, I called in to my cha-bre, an eyght, or tenne/of the beſt lerned men/that were in Cambryge, the whi-che be yet alyue/as farre as I knowe/

ſauyng

sauyng mayster George Stakkarde, and mayster Bylney. Of all thes I asked theyr counsell, what they thought best to do, seynge this reuocacion was so vncharitably made, and thynges falsely layde vnto my charge, which were not in my articles, nor yet could be charytably taken out of them. They all concluded, that it was neyther ryght nor cõsciẽce, that I shuld agree to this reuocacion. wherfore after warde, whã the Vicechaunceloure called me agayne afore doctour Rydley, doctour watson doctour Wrekon, and mayster Tyrell, & delyuered me this reuocacion in his chambre, which I shuld rede openly ỳ sonday folowyng in seynt Edwardes churche, and shulde saye neyther more nor lesse, than was therin wryten. ye & shulde also promyse, that yf I were afterwarde called forthe by any bigher power spirituall, to be content, and suffer all payne, and punyshment, that he or they shulde laye vnto me. Than wolde I not agree in no wyse to this determinacion, nor consent to these condicions. For they were neyther agreable to learnynge / nor yet standynge with charitie. There were certain articles condempned for heresye

that

that were as true as saint Jhons gos pell. And charitie wolde not: that I shuld be blamed for that thyng that I neither spake, nor thought, but alonly malicious persones dyd take oute of my sayinge. false meaninges. wherfore here was a greate tragidie amonge them/ For some saide that I was pertured, by the reason I was swome to a byde the determination of the vicechã celour. And the other parte rekened, that my othe bonude me not, by the reson that it was so vncharitably made, the which was not their promyse to do. yet the vicechauncelour him selfe, thought it to extreame. So that after many wordes, the congregacion of thē was dissolued, and I shuld make an answer vnto vnto daiswhat I wolde do. Now in ꝑ meane season, dyd mayster Tyrel ryde to London & fond ꝑ meane (by the reason ꝑ he could not opteyne his minde in the Vniuersite. For I sayde, that I wolde appele from ꝑ vice chauncelour. to the whole body of the Vniuersite that the Cardinall sent downe doctour Capon, and a seregeant of armes, called Gybson, whiche dyd a rest me in the vniuersitie, for to appere before your graces counsell, So was I brought vp to London the tues=

day

daye afore whyte sondaye, and on the weddynsdaye at nighte after, was I brought afore the Cardinal in his gallery at westmynster, whiche toke and redde all my articles quietlye, tyll he came to the vi. There he stopped, and asked, me. yf a byshop myght haue any more cities then one. I answered, ꝑ a byshop was instituted, to instruct & teach the cytie. And therfore he might haue as muche vnderneth hym, as he were able to preache, and teache to. And to that me thought saynte-Pauls dydde agree, commaundynge Timothe to set in euery citie a byshoppe. wherfore I knewe none other order but this Than sayde he: That in Pawles daies a Cytie was lyke of seuen myles longe beside ꝑ subbarbes. and of that whole Citie was there but one byshoppe. Solykewise nowe, a byshop had but one Cathedrall sea. and all the residue of the countrey were as subbarbes vnto it To this I said nothing, for he wold herde me no more. but retourned and redde forthe the articles, tyll that he came to the, xxii. article, where he founde his pyllers, and pollares. And there he stopped, & had a great disputation with me of the, as I haue writ-

ten

ten afore in my articles, So at the last we came so farre, that I sayde, howe these articles were vncharitably gathered out of my sermonde. Than he sayde, you are defamed of heresye. I answered, and sayde. I truste there is no good man, that knoweth me, whyche wyll suspecte me. He sayd, do not you knowe that there is a rumoure howe that you be brought afore vs for heresy? I aunswered, that rumour is scattered by myne aduersaries of malyce, and not of any occasion that I haue gyuen. He sayde, I beleue that to be true, but how wyll you purge youre selfe. I answered, I wyll be bounde to bringe vnto your grace. xx. honest men, and well learned, of good name, & fame that shal depose for me, how that I am not worthy of this infampe. Than he sayde: can you bringe me. vi. or x doctours of diuinite, that wyll swere for you, that you are neither gylty, nor yet worthy to be suspected? I answered, that it was not possible to bringe so many doctors for me, seing there were no more but. iij. at my sermonde, & they belonged bothe to byshops. wherfore I supposed they wolde not testifie with me: But I wold bringe as many honest

men

men, as shuld be required, & they shuld be as well learned, and better than I for to testifie for me. But he sayd, that wold not helpe, for they muste be my peares, after the forme of the lawe, I sayd, that was impossible. Than sayd he, you must be burned. I aunswered, howe I trusted to haue more grace, and fauoure at his hand. He sayd, he was sworne to mayntayne the lawes of the churche, and therfore he must folowe ꝑ forme of the lawe. wherfore I shoulde take deliberation with my selfe, whether I wouldestaude, to the course of the lawe, or elles submytte my selfe to his grace, Nowbecause I had onse submitted my selfe to the vicechaunceloure, & I was therby circūuēted. Therfore I thought I wold now not be so hasty in submittyng my self. And therfore I aunswered ꝑ I wold submyt my selfe to his grace, in any thynge that could be proued against me, that I had spoken contrarye to learnynge.

Nothynge elles.

He sayde, that this was no submissyon. And I wouldegraunt no more. So after much communication/he concluded with me, and sayde, howe that I was but a foole, and couldenot perceiue, howe good he was vnto me. wherfore seynge that I wolde be reported

by

by my dedes, therfore he had signed xv. or xvi. doctours (sayde he, the which he shulde the nexte daye here me. And so the nexte daye, whiche was on the Thursdaye before Fastingam sondaye, was I brought into the Chapterhouse of westmynster, where sat the byshop of Bathe, as principall iudge, and the byshop of sayne Asse the abbot of westmynster, the abbot of Burye, doctoure Quarton, doctour Allen, doctour steuenthan secretory, with many mo which I knew not. Than sayd the Byshop of Bath, syr you are defamed of heresye but I denyed the same. He sayde, ye do se what a multitude of people here is gathered to here your examynatyon, whiche must tyse of some fame: I sayde, that I knewe no cause of that gatheringe, for I knew neuer a mā there nor brought any man with me, sauyng a chylde of .xiii. yeares. Than sayd he Dyd you neuer here of any man, that you were accused of heresye. Than sayde I Men may say their pleasures I cannot let them. but it is no matter to me, as longe as I am fautles. Than sayde he, we do beleue that you are fautles. but if you must purge your selfe and declare your innocēcy, I answered

The maner of myne examinatyon at westminster.

by

to that I was content, and woldebe reported by all men that euer knewe me/or herde me. well sayde he that is well sayde. Nowe sayde he/be there certeyne artycles delyuered vnto vs/agaynst you, what saye you to them? My desyre was to knowe myne accusers. Nay sayd he, we procede after a nother forme of the lawe, wherfore, what say you to these artycles? I answered, that they were vncharytably gathered agaynste me, wherfore I dyd delyuer certeyne artycles in to the courte, subscribed with myne owne hande. As sone as they had them/ Than had they what they wolde, for I was nowe come in forther daunger, thā I wiste of, for now muste I nedes ponrge my selfe after theyr requeste, or elles reuoke all thynges ỹ they layde agaynst me, as though they had ben myne, or elles I must nedes dye/after theyr lawe. The wyche thynge I than neyther knewe/ nor suspected/ And this hath ben the cause, ỹ almaner of mē, what soeuer they were that came afore them/were they neuer so good nor so innocent must nedes be heretykes yf they were not good vnto them the wyche they were seldome as theyr dedes hath declared. But to com

so

to our purpose they enquired dyuerse questions of me, nothynge partaynyng vnto myne articles. As whether a mā might swere or not. And whether my Lorde Cardynall were myne ordynary iuge or not: Whether lyke captious interogations, at the laste they came to my first article, and inquired of me, yf all dayes were a lyke. I saide, after the mynde of saint Hierome, that all dayes were equall. Than asked they me, yf we shulde kepe any holy dayes. I sayd yes. And in this matter we had a great disputation, tyll at the last my lorde of Rochester came. And he asked me yf this commaundement, Sabatū sanctyfices, were a ceremoniall, or a morall precepte. I aunswered, that it was a ceremonial, alledging for me S. Augustyne, Than said he: that I was not learned. But alwayes when they had asked of me a question, & I had assoyled it, so that they neither woulde, nor coulde abiecte any thynge agaynst me, than was I commaunded alwayes to stande a parte, And they laide theyr headdes together, tyl they had inuented another captious questiō, thā was I called agayne, & myne aunswer giuē I was commaunded back again / thus Epist. c. xlv.

they continued with me iii. dayes, in ꝑ
whiche space theyr notary wrote a re-
uocation of all my artycles, before the
tyme that myne answer was yeᵭ And
on the thyrde day after non, about thre
of the clocke, was there a great longe,
rolle offered vnto me for to rede word
by worde as it there stode and cõmaun-
dement was gyuen me by the bysshope
of Bathe that I shulde not speake one
worde afore the people more or les than
was writen in the rolle for yf I dyd he
wolde handle me wel ynough So I re-
quired fyrste to se what was wryten in
the roll, or I wolde graunt vnto it. An
swere was made that yf I wolde rede
it as it was wryten well and good, yf
not I shulde stãde to the iooperdie. So
I desyred them to knowe, yf they had
condempned any of my artycles for here
sye: They sayde, yea, I asked them
whiche it was They sayde they wolde
not tel me more than was wryten. I an
swered. Alas my lordes the truthe is ꝑ
to my iudgement I haue spokẽ nothig
but that standeth with saynt Augustie
with saynt Hicrome, & with other doc-
tours of holy church. wherfor yf it shall
chaũce me thus to be condẽpned & not to
be taught wherin, I cannot tell what

I shuld

I shulde preache in tyme to come The byshop of Bath answered that I shuld take no care for that for as for preachig he wold prouyde for me But I shulde alonlie answere yf I wolde rede this rolle, or not, I desired that they wolde fyrste point with theire fynger yf they wolde not speake it which article they had condemned for heresy, And I wold be bounde to proue it true by sayncte Augustyn, or els by sayncte Hierome, or I wolde be taken for an heretike. To this sayd the byshop of Bathe, that yf saint Augustine, & sayncte Hierome were here, they shuld stand to the determynacyon of the churche. Unto whom I sayde, that the churche had so determyned of sayncte Augustyne, & sayncte Hierome that yf any other churche determyned agaynst them, I wolde suspecte it. wel sayth he. yf you wyll stande vnto them do. we are contente, alonely tell vs whether you will rede this rolle or not Then sayd I. My lordes, I beseche you in the way of charite, and for Christes sake, dele charytably with me, and do me no wronge. For sayncte Paule sayth that you haue power gyuen, to edifiēge and not to distruction. Very well, sayde the byshoppe of Bathe, ye nede not to

feare Here be to many witnessis, that we shuld oppresse you wrongfully but saide he, tel vs whether you wyl rede this rol or not. This is the thirde time and the laste Than saide I. I wil not graunte to it, excepte I may first se it. Do as it shal please you. At this there sat al stil, none lokyng on ỳ other. thã the bisshope of Bathe cõmaunded me to depart aside. So tokē they there counsel togethers. And at ỳ last I was caled agayne, and this was sayd to me Sirre shal haue a man, that shal rede it vnto you afore, wel saide I. I am cõtent And so one of theyr notaries, a lay mã. was assignede vnto me & we departed a litel aside and there he began to rede The yere of our lorde, such a date of ỳ moneth, was one doctour Barnes conuented before the bisshops in westmynster for certeine articles, whiche were gathered out of a sermond that he preached in Cambrige, of the which some of them be sclaaunderous, some be ironycous, some be contencyous some be sedicious some be folyshe, and some be hereticall. wyan that he came to this word heretical I asked hym, which of them were heretical He answerd me a

gayne

againe, ye haue harde what mi lordes saythe I can make you no answere. Alas said I shal I be thus condempned for an heretike and can not tel what is myne heresye. Than saide he, it belonnot to me, speake vnto them, well sayde I. Reade no more. So wente I agayne afore the byshoppes. And fell downe on my knees, and desyred them for the bytter passion of Christ, that they wold shewe vnto me, whiche article they condempned for heresy. And than yf I wold de not be taughte, they shuld handle me after the fourme of the lawe. But to this the byshop of Bathe answered, & sayde, I shulde chose whether I wulde rede that rolle, or els be burned. The one of both I shulde do. Than saide I Jesus haue mercy on me, I wyll surely not rede it. And so I delyuered it to the againe, Than the other doctours cried vpon me, the one here the other there, that I shulde remembre my selfe, and not to caste awaye my selfe after this maner. For to rede the rolle, said they was but a smalle thynge, and I was neuer the worse man. And I shuld se that my lord Cardinall shulde be good, and gracious vnto me. And they woulde that was leaste.

all spake for me, so that I supposed in very dede, þ they wold haue required no more of me, but for to haue redde the rolle afore the face of the world that I shulde not seme to haue the victory agaynst them all, whiche thynge I dyd not greatly regarde. But in very dede, and yf I had knowen, that there had ben so myscheuous poyson, tyranny, & cruelnes, in them, as I founde after warde. I wolde neuer haue redde it, to haue dyed for it. But God bryngeth al thynges to passe at his pleasure.

Grace without deseruyng

Nowe vpon this opinion that I had in them, and by þ reason of theyr good wordes, and petuous, that they spake vnto me. I graunted to rede the rolle. But than whan I wolde haue red it, the bysshop of Bathe sayd, it was to late, so was there a great disputation betwene them, vpon that matter. Tyll that doctour Muarton sayde, my lorde it is not to late, for it is al in one lessiō and in the tyme of one iudgemēt. But the bysshop of Bathe (our lorde forgiue hym) sought all the meanes þ he could and vsed all maner of cruelnes to haue destroyed me. Neuertheles, at the last he delyuered me that rolle, for to rede. Than was all the people þ stode ther,

called

called to here me. For in the other thre dayes, was there no man suffered to here one worde, that I spake. So after theyr commaundement that was gyuē me, I red it, addyng nothyng to it, nor sayng no word, ꝑ might make for myn excuse, supposyng that I shuld haue founde the byshops the better. After this, I was commaunded to subscribe it, and to make a crosse on it. Thā was I commaunded to go knele downe before the by shop of Bathe, & to require absolucion of hym, but he wolde not assoyle me, excepte I wold first swere that I wolde fulfyll the penaūce, that he shuld enioyn to me. So did I swere not yet suspectynge, but that these mē had had some crom of charite within them. But whan I had sworne, than enioyned he me, that I shuld retourne that nighte agayne to prisone. And the next day, whiche was fastyngame dō day, I shuld do open penaunce at Paules. And that the worlde shuld thynke that I was a merueylous haynous heretyke, the Cardynal came the next daye with all the pompe, and pryde, that he could make to Paules church, and all to bryng me poore soule oute of conceite. And moreouer were there

com

commaunded to come al the bysshoppes that were at London, and all the abbotes dwellynge in London, that dydde were myters, in so muche that the pryour of sainte Maries spittel, & another monke, whiche I thinke was of towre hylle. were there also in their myters. And to set the matter more forthe, and that the worlde shulde perfytly knowe and perceiue, that the spirituall fathers had determined my matter substancially. The bisshop of Rochester must preach there that same daye, and all his sermō was agaynst Lutherians, as thoughe they had conuicted me for one. The whiche of truth, and afore god, was as fare from theise thynges as any man coulde be, sauynge that I was no tyraunt, nor no persecutour of Gods worde. And al this gorgyous kalyng with myters, & crosstaues, abbotes, and prpours were doone, but to blynde the people, and to outface me. God amende all thynge that is amysse, I had ben well content to haue suffred all theise thinges, so I myght haue commen to any charitable ende, But I must retourne agayne after this to prison, & there remayne, tyl my lorde Cardinals further pleasure. The which pleasure, I dyd abide first

and

and last, two yeres, and thre quarters and yet coulde neuer be at any pointe with them, For I sent vnto the byshop of London that was than, certain worshypful men of the citie of Londō whose names be these. Mayster Lamberte, whiche hath ben maire, M. Rainolde whiche hath ben sherive, M. Palmer, M. Petit. M. Jones. and M. Pernell, And desired these men in the waye of charitie. to go to the bishop of London and to desyre hym to be good and gracious vnto me. And yf I had offended, I wold be gladde to make amendes, as muche as he shuld reasonably require of me. Desyrange hym to shewe them what he wolde of his charitie require me to do. And they for to be bounde vnto him, that I wolde kepe it. This they did. But what aunswere that they had of hym, they be men aliue for the mooste part they can tel. And amongst al other maister Petyt sayde vnto the bishoppe Alas my lorde, it is a pitious case. yf a man come in the daunger of your lawe, there is no remedy to helpe hym out. yes sayde the byshop. What is ꝑ saide maister Petit. This is a yonge man, and hathe good frendes, whiche wouldē perchē lothe to haue hym

the cardinal had put the matter to hī

cast

caste awaye. wherfore yf there be anye remedy, deuise you it. And we wyll be bounde for him. At this the bysshoppe was astonyed, and said at the last, that he woulde speake to my lord Cardinal for me. Than these men offered hym to go with him, and to be bounde for me. He saide, it shulde not nede. But neuertheles he spake so vnto them, or they departed, that whan they came home, there was not one of them, that durste giue me so muche breade, and meare, as he durst giue his dogge, nor yet speake one worde to me. Immediatlye after this, the bysshoppe founde the meanes, that I was sent to Northāpton, there to remaine, as in a perpetuall prison. Thus mooste gratious prynce haue thei handeled me your poore Oratour. I beseche your highnes, to be good and gracious vnto me, and iudge, if this be charitable dealynge, thus to condempne me for an heretike. and not to shew me the poynte wherfore, But euen with violente tyrannye, to compel me to do and confesse what they wyl, or elles to be put to deathe. And yf there be anye of them yet, that wyll come forth, and proue anye of these articles heresye, I wyll not refuse to suffre any payne, yf

god saue me from suche speakynge,

your

your grace shall iudge me worthye.

¶ Thus our lorde Jesus Christ preserue your noble grace euermore.

Amen.

¶ Onely fayth iustifieth before God.

NOwe, yf your grace do not take vpō you to here the disputacion, and the probacion of this article oute of the grounde of holye scripture, my lordes the bysshoppes wyll condempne it, afore they rede it, as their maner is to do with al thinges, that pleaseth them not, & whiche they vnderstande not, and than cry they, heresy, heresy, an heretike an heretike, he ought not to be herde, for his matters be condempned by the church and by holy fathers, and by all longe customes, and by all maner of lawes. Vnto whom with your graces fauour I make this answere. I wold knowe of them, yf all these thinges, that they haue here rekened, can ouercome christ

and

and his holy word, or let ꝑ holy ghost to schole? And yf they can not, why shulde not I than be herde? that do requyre it in the name of Christ? and also bryng for me his holy worde. And the holy fathers, whiche haue vnderstãde Gods worde as I do? Therfore thoug he they wyl not here me, yet must they nedes here them. In holy scripture, Christe is nothynge elles, but a sauyour, a redemer, a iustifier ⁊ a perfecte peacemaker, betwene God, and man. This testimonye dyd the aungell giue of him in these wordes. He shall saue his people from theyr synnes. And also saint Paule. christ is made our right wisnes, our satisfaction, and our redemptiõ. Moreouer, the prophete witnesseth the same, sayinge, For the wrechednes of my people, haue I stryken hym. So ꝑ here haue we Christe with his propertyes. Nowe, yf we wyl truely confesse Christ, than must we graft with our hertes, that Christ is all our iustice, all our redemption, all our wisdome, all our holynes, all alonly the purchaser of grace, alonly the peace maker betwene God ⁊ mã. Brefely all goodnes ꝑ we haue, ꝑ it is of him, by hym and for his sake onely. And that we

Math, 1.
1, corint. 1.
Esai. liii.

we haue nede of nothyng towardes
our saluacyon, but of hym onely & we
desire no nother saluacio, nor no nother
satisfactio, nor any helpe of any other
creature, other heuenly or erthly, but
of hym onely, for as saint Peter saithe
there is no nother name gyue vnto me Actu.iiii
wherin they muste be saued. And also
saynt Paule sayethe, by him are al that
beleaue iustified in all thynges.
Moreouer saint John witnesseth that Actu.xiii
same, in these wordes, He it is, þ hath i. Jhon.ii.
optayned grace for our synnes. And in i. John.iiii
a nother place. He sente his sonne to
make agrement, for our synnes. Nowe
my lordes, here haue you Christe, and
his very nature ful, and holle. And he
that denyeth any thyng or any parte
of these thynges, or take any parte of
them, and apply them, or gyue the glo-
ry of them to any other persone, than
to christ only, þ same mā robbeth christ
of his honour, & denieth Christ, & is ve
ry antichrist, wherfore my lordes first
what say you to this, & vnto the pro-
perties of Christ, yf you graunte them
thā are we at a point. For they proue þ
faith in Jesus christ onely iustifieth a-
fore God. Secondely if you denye it (as
I am sure you will, for you had leuer
denye

deny your crede, than graunt it.) How can you than auoyde, but that you be
* Jhon iiii. the very Antichristes, of whom sayntc Jhon speaketh? For nowe haue we tryed your spirites, that thei be not of god for you denye Christe. That is, you denye the very nature, and the propertie of christe. you graunt the name, but you denye the vertue. you graunte that he descended from heauen, but you denye the profyt therof, For he descended for our healthy, this denye you. and yet it is your crede. you graunt ỳ he was borne but you denye the purpose. you graunt that he is risen from death, but you denye the profite therof. For he rose to iustify vs. you graunt, that he is a sauiour, but you denie, that he is alonelye the sauiour. I pray you wherfore was he borne, to iustifie vs in parte, to redeme vs in parte, to do satisfaccion for part of our synnes, so that we must set a payre of olde shoes, a lompe of bread and chese, or a lousy gray cote to make satisfaccion for the other parte. Saye what you will, yf you gyue not al, and fully, and alonely to one christ, than deny you Christ, and the holy ghoste. And sayntt Jhon doth declare you to be contrary to christ. This may also be pro-

ued

ued by a playne scripture of the holye ghoost, which is this. No man in heauen, nor in earth, neither vnder therth was able to open the booke, or to looke on the booke, till the lambe came, vnto whome the seniours spake, on this maner. Thou arte worthye to take the boke, and to open the seales therof, for thou wast kylled, and hast redemed vs by thy bloude. Howe saye you to this my lordes: In heauen was there none founde, neither by the aungels, nor yet by ỹ seniours worthy to open the boke, but Christ only. And wyll you finde ỹ they could not find: will you set an hyer per to christ whom they set alone.

But I pray you tell vs what he shall be. All the worlde knoweth, that they be good workes. But now, frō whence come your good workes? whether frō heuen? or out of the erthe? or from vnder the erthe, yf they were in any of these places, where were they whan the angelles, and the seniours sought them. Haue you founde them, whom they coulde not fynde, but let this passe. I pray you, what wyll you lay for your good workes, or by what tytle wyll you bringe them in, to ioyne thē with the lambe in openynge of the

boke.

boke? The sentours haue layde for the that the lambe alonly was worthy to open the boke, because he was slayne, and redemed them with his pretyous bloude. Nowe what cause lay you for your good workes. The lambe hath alonely dyed for vs. The lambe hath alonly shed his bloud for vs. The lambe hath alonly redemed vs. These thyngs hath he done alone. Nowe yf these be sufficiente than hath he alone made satisfaccyon, and is alonely worthy to be our redemer and iustifier.

Moreouer, they that be in heuen confesse that this lambe is alonly worthy to redeme the. Be your workes better than theyrs, or can your workes helpe them. If they can. than is not the lambe alonely worthy to redeme them. Moreouer, the sentyours fall downe before the lambe, gyuyng hym alonely praise And shall your good workes stande vp by the lambe. Than be they better thā the sentyours: But let vs proue this thinge by open scriptures. S. Paule toke so great labours to proue this artycle, as he neuer toke in no nother, and all because he wolde make it plain and stoppe the mouthes of the agayne sayers. But all this wyll not helpe the

that

that haue not the spirite of god, Neuertheles we wyl by Gods fauour do the best we can to confound the croked enemyes of Christes bloude, and thoughe we can not make them his frendes yet at the leste we wyl so handle them that they shal be a shamed openly so to speake against hym as thei haue done long time, and so wil we handle them, by Gods helpe that all the worlde shal knowe þ they glory in Christes name & by hym be thei also so bigge promoted in this world that thei can not be bigger & yet deserue they of Christe, worste of al men. But let vs go to our purpose Saint Paule saithe, al men be sinners & want the glori of God. but thei are iustified freely by his grace, thorowe the redemption that is in christe Jesu what is this that al men haue sinned, ye and are iustified freely Howe ival a synner do good workes howe can he deserue to be iustified what cal you freely yf there be any deseruyng lesse or more than is it not freely. what cal you by his grace yf it be any parte of workes. thã it is not of grace For as saint Paul sayth Than grace were not grace Here can be none excusion the wordes be so playne yf you bring in any helpe

rom:iii.

roma,xi.

of wozkes, thā foz so muche is not our redemptiō freely, noz yet is it of grace as concerninge the parte, that commeth of wozkes, but partly of wozkes, and than do you destroye all sayne Paule, and his holle disputacion. Foz he contendeth against wozkes, & clerely excludeth wozkes in iustificacion, and bryngeth in grace only. Nowe, that that is excluded in the wholle by contencion, can not be brought in, in parte to the cause. This is open in his wozdes, where he sayth. where is nowe thy reioysynge? It is excluded. By what lawe? by ꝑ lawe of wozkes. Nay but by the lawe of faithe we do iudge therfoze / ꝑ a man is iustified by fayth without the wozkes of the lawe, Here you not, that the gloriacīō of wozkes is excluded and yet wyl you bost, your wozkes Here you not plainely sainte Paules sentence, that iudgeth clerelie with faythe and against al wozkes. Nowe can this be auoided Is it not clere what can be answere to it Is not this Paules propesicion that he toke to preue fayth onelie iustifieth It were but lost labour for paule to preue that workes did helpe to iustificatiō for that ꝑ lawes dyd graunt & required no moze, but that wozkes myght not

Rom. iii.

be

be clerely excluded They were christ ned, and content to receyue Christe for theyr sauiour, but not only, and alonly This was the contencion.
In so moche that they glorryed agaīst the gentyls, whiche had no maner of workes, and for that dispised them, as people vnworthy to be iustified. But parauenture here wyll be sayd, ꝓ Paule condempneth the workes of the olde lawe, but not the workes of the newe lawe. Are you now satisfied in your conscience? Thynk you, that you haue well applyed saint Paules argument? Thynke you, that this is suffycient to auoyde sayncte Paule, that hath taken so great labour to proue this cause? Thynke you, that you shal be thus discharged afore God yf you do, thā go boldelye into the strayghte iudgemente of G O D with this euasion, and douut you not, but there shall you fynde sayncte Paule as stryfly, & as stōgly agaynst you, and your newe workes as euer he was agaynst the iewes, and theyr olde workes, And yf he dyd condempne the workes of the law, that were instituted by the mouth of God, and the best workes that euer were: Thynke you that those workes that you haue inuented, shalbe there alowed.

Brieuelye, what workes can you do. or excogitate (that be good) whiche be not in the olde lawe. and of the olde lawe. Ergo he speaketh of all maner of workes, for the lawe includeth all workes that euer god instituted. The hyghest, and the beste, and mooste of perfection of al workes be, Opera decalogi, the workes of the ten commaundementes And these be workes of the olde lawe, and can not iustifie, after youre owne sayinge. Nowe, what workes haue you of the newe lawe other than these, or better than these. Our maister Christe sheweth, that in fulfyllyng. ii. of these commaundementes, be all workes included. what workes than be of ꝑ new lew, that were not commaunded in the olde. Peraduenture you wyll say. All those workes that Christ speaketh of in the. v. of Math. be of the new lawe and not of the old. For Christ saith, I saye vnto you: He that calleth his brother foole. Or he that loketh on a woman to desire her, & such lyke, doth offend. These seme to be workes of christ & not of Moyses. Ergo, there be workes of the new law, ꝑ were not cõmaũded in ꝑ old. And against thẽ disputeth not. S. Paule, say ye. To this I answer

that

that our maister Christe doth there re-
preue the false interpretacion that the
scrybes, and pharises dyd set to ꝑ lawe
but he teacheth no newe workes, nor is
no gyuer of any newe lawe. For saynt
Jhon sayth. The law is gyue through
Moyses, But grace and verite came by
Jesus Christ. He is the gyuer of grace,
and mercy, as all the prophetes testi-
fyeth, and not a nother Moyses, And
therfor to purchace vs fauour, he dyed
on the crosse. and so did not Moyses.
But he cō maundeth vs so do this, and
do that. But Christ sayth, hange thou
on my doyng, and beleue thou, that I
haue done for the, for the, and not for
me. Nowe to our purpose, Christ I say
dothe interpretate, ꝑ declare the olde
lawe agaynst the scribes, and pharyses
whiche lerned, that the lawe was ful-
fylled, ꝑ content with outwarde wor-
kes, and that was theyr iustificacion.
This false doctryne doth our mayster
Christ repreue, And saith, that the law
doth require a pure, and a clene herte,
and wyl haue his workes fulfilled out
of the herte, and not alonely with hāde
and fete, and tothe, and nayle, as the
pharisees saith, and teacheth. So that
our mayster Christe teacheth no newe

wozkes, but alonely expzesseth ꝑ ver-
tue of the olde lawe. And thus dothe
Aug. in ser. holy doctoyrs declare this .v. chapiter
domini de of Math, and specially sayut Auguste,
monte wherfore out of that place can not be
Exo. xx. & Leui. xix. proued, that there be certeyne wozkes
of the newe lawe, that were neuer cō-
maunded in the olde. Moreouer loke
in ꝑ olde lawe whether these thinges
be fozbydden, oz cōmaunded. And you
shal fynde that the wozdes of the law,
and Christes exposicion doth agre. So
that our mayster teacheth us newe
thynge, noz yet any newe wozkes. But
nowe graunte, that there be certayne
wozkes of ꝑ new law, which ꝑ be not of
the olde: yet haue you not, noz can not
proue, ꝑ those shall iustifie? Foz there
can be no moze goodnes in wozkes, thā
were i wozkes of the old law, foz they
were to gods honor, & to ꝑ profit of our
neygbour. what goodnes can wozkes
haue moze. And yet you graunte, that
they can not iustifie. Howe than shall
your newe wozkes iustifie. Blessed
sayut Paule disputeth against them
that were christened, & had bothe wor
kes of the olde lawe, and also of the
newe, And yet cōcludeth he, that christ
alonely was theyr iustifier. Marke
his

his argument. yf ryghtwyslnes com-
meth of the lawe, than is Christe deed
in vayne: As he wolde say, yf the lawe
helpe to iustifye (for that was the opy-
nion of the Iewes than is not Christ al
onely your iustifier. yf he be nor your
iustifier alonely, than is he deed in
vayne. Nowe wyll sayncte Paule proue
this consequent: On this maner, Ey-
ther Christe dothe this thynge alone,
or elles he is ded in vayne, for he wyll
haue no helper. This must nedes be ȳ
meanyng of his argumēt there. Nowe
wyll I take this argument of sayncte
Paul, & like wyse dispute against your
newe warkes. yf newe vvarkes do help
to iustifie, than is Christ deede in vaine
But christ is not deed in vayne
Ergo newe vvorkes do not helpe to iu
stifie. The firste part is paules. The se
conde you graunt. Therfore the thirde
must nedes folovve. But let vs se hovv
S. Paule proueth this propolicion by
an example not of the olde lawe. as
though he disputed alonly against the
vvorkes of the old law. But by thatho
ly & excellent patriarch Abraham vvō
nomaner vvorkes coulde iustifie but
fayth onelye. Thinke you that S. Paul
dothe speake heere of the vvorkes, of

Gala. ii

the

the olde lawe, haue doubteles. For howe coulde Abraham do the workes of the lawe and there was no lawe gyuen. cccc. and. xxx. yeares after? wherefore sayntt Paule constrayneth you to conclude, that no maner of good workes, thoughe they be so good as Abrahams workes, can helpe to iustificatiō. Note also saint Paules argument Abrahā was iustified so many yeares before the lawe was giuē. Ergo, saith he, the lawe doth not iustifie. So lykewise dispute I against your newe workes. Men were sufficiently and perfitly iustified al onely by faith, afore any new workes were geuē or preached Ergo ꝑ workes of ꝑ new law doth not iustifie of necessite. The antecedent I proue thus. Abrahā, Isaac Iacob, & Iohn Bap. & all the holy prophetes were perfitly iustified. afore any newe workes as you take new workes, were spoken of. Ergo, men were sufficiently iustified, alonly by faith, yt saynt Paules argument conclude, so must myne also. wherfore say what you can. Here standeth holy saint Paule stifly, & strongly for me, & against you, & saith. That we be freely, & alonely iustified by faith wout al maner of workes. But let vs

Roma iiii
Gala, iii

se

se what saincte Ambrose saith to this Ambros. ad
texte. They are iustified freely, for thei rom. iii.
doyng nothyng, nor nothyng deseruig
alonelye by faithe are iustified by the
gifte of god. &c. Here you not, ꝑ
men worckynge nothynge at all, nor no
thing deseruing, are iustified by faith
onely. ye and freely; you were wont to
crye for Sola, sola, sola, only only, on
ly. Here haue you hym. And to helpe
hym, you haue also gratis that is to
saye, freely, and also dono dei, that is to
saye the gift of God, and nihil operan
tes, that is as muche as worckynge no
thynge at all; If these wordes do not
exclude workes and alow faith onlye,
I can not tell what wordes wyll do it
graunt these wordes and I wyll be cō
tent. I wyl also bryngе you Origyn on Orig. ad ro
this same text, whose wordes be these li. iii, cap. iii
Paule saythe, that the iustification of
faith is al onely sufficient, So that yf
a man do beleue, onely he is iustifyed,
thoughe there be no workes doone of
hym at al. By faith was the theefe iusti
fied, without the workes of the lawe.
For our lorde dyd not aske hym what
he had done, nor dyd not loke for anye
workes of hym, but dyd accept hym al
onely, for cōfessyng of Christ. sequitur
wher

wherfore a man is iustified by faythe. vnto whom, as concernynge iustificacion, the workes of the law, helpe nothinge, &c, what say you to Origine, þ faithe how men be iustified, thoughe they do no good workes at al, for workes do helpe nothinge to iustification, but faithe onely. Be not these plaine wordes. Graūt these wordes, & we wil aske no more of you. Here haue ydu also. Sola, sola, sola, So þ you nede not crye no more for Sola. Also Origē bringeth an open example of the theefe. that no man can denye. who can haue lesse good workes, than a theefe, which is neither good before god, nor man. So that al the worlde may se, þ this is no new opinion, seinge that the scripture, & also holy doctours doth teche it, Also s. Paule in the. ix. chap, bringeth in þ gē tyll which knoweth nothinge of god, nor hath done no good workes. But cō frary, blaspheme god, & his name, and hath alwayes liued in idolatry, & ben an vtter enemie vnto all goodnes, He bringeth in also the iewe full of good workes of the lawe, whiche hath also great zele, vnto God, and to this workes, yea and of that Paul beareth him wittnes. Brefely, he bryngeth in for

Rom. ix.

him such a Jewe: that no man can com-
plaine of, but is full of good woorkes.
yea take all the best of the Jewes, toge
ther, for it were madnes of Paule to roma.x
speake of ꝑ dampnable Jewes, that
were open wretches/ & dampned by the
iugement of the lawe) w all their good
woorkes, & yet S. Paul doth exclude thē
and repelleth them clerely from iustifi
cation, with al their good zele, & with
all their good woorks, and concludeth
with plaine woordes, that ꝑ gentil, whi
che is ful of damnable woorkes, & had
neither zele nor loue vnto goodnes. is
iustified by faith onely. These be S. pau roma, ix
les woords, we say that the gētiles, whi
che folowed not rightwisnes, haue op-
tained rightwiseues. I meane ꝑ right-
wisnes which commeth of faith. But
Israell which folowed the law of righ
teousnes, could not attaine vnto righte
wisnes. wherefore, because he sought
it not by faith, but as it were, by ꝑ woo
kes of the lawe, We not these playne
woordes. That the gentiles, whiche fo-
lowed no rightwesenes, nor hadde no
mind therunto, are iustified freelye by
faith. Is not here Sola fides. onelye
faithe, Moreouer, the Jew is repreued
with al his zele, with al his loue, with
all his studye, and with all his good
woorkes

wozkes. Is not this a meruelous thig yes verely. And so marueylous, þ shall neuer vnderstande it, without you beleue. But peraduenture here shal be said that the good wozkes of the Jewes dyd not profyte them, bicause they had no faythe. But yf they had had faythe, than wolde they haue holpen to their iustification.

To this I make answere. Trouthe it is good wozkes dyd not profyte þ Jewes for lacke of faythe. But this is false, That wozkes should haue holpē to iustification, yf they had had faythe. For saynt Paule proueth clerely that good wozkes helpe nothynge to iustificaciō neyther wozkes let not the iustificaciō that commeth by fayth. And this he proueth by the example of the Gentyll whiche had no good wozkes, but all dampnable wozkes, and yet is iustified by faythe. Moreouer, the Jewe had the zele of God, and all maner of good wozkes with al thynge that the worlde can deuyse, yea and also sayut Paule speketh of the Jewes that were christened, and all this coulde not helpe. wherfore no maner of wozkes, whether they be in fayth, or out of fayth, can helpe to iustifie. Neuertheles, wozkes hath

their

theyr glorye, and rewarde. But the glory, and prayse of iustification, belongeth to Christe onely. Also sayne Paule proueth playnely in these wordes, that workes haue no place in iustification: To hym that worketh, is the rewarde not geuen of fauoure but of duetie. To hym that worketh not but beleueth on hym, ‘þ iustifieth the wycked man, is faythe counted for ryghtwyslenes. Howe thynke you by these wordes? Be they not openly agaynst all workes? Saythe he not, that iustification is imputed vnto hym that worketh not, but alonly beleueth in hym, that iustifieth the wycked man? I praye you what good workes doothe the wycked man? Marke also howe he sayth, that rightwislenes is imputed vnto him, Ergo it is not deserued. For that that is deserued, is not imputed of fauour but it must be geuen of duty. Howe thinke you? Is not this Solafides. only faith. you knowe that there be but workes, and faith that do iustifie. And sayne Paul excludeth workes clerely. Ergo, faythe alone remayneth. But peraduenture you wyll saye, that workes with faythe do iustifie. Neuertheles of meknes, and lowlynes, and

auoy

ausydynge of all boost of goodnes, you wyll gyue all the glory to faithe, as vn to ỳ principal thinge, and without the whiche, no workes can helpe. Notwithstaudyng workes be good & helpe to iustification. though of mekenes you will not know it. Is not this dampnable hipocrisy. yea & that with God. whiche were intollerable, yf it were with men. But how can you proue by scripture, that workes are worthy of any glorye of iustification. Is not this open lyeng on fayth to gyue all to hym, And yet as you say, he is not worthy of al. for workes be worthye of parte. If faith be not worthy alone, confesse it openly, & giue workes his prayse, and faith her praise & say not one thinge with your mouthe and think an other in your hert. For God sercheth the priuites of hertes. Who hath required of you such a mekenes. But I praye you how can workes helpe to iustificatiou lesse or more. whan they be neither done, nor yet thought of. who is iustified but a wicked man, which thinketh nothinge of good workes. But these mekelyes, deserue an aunswer, wherfore let vs herewhat holye doctoures saye, on this texte. To hym ỳ worketh not. &c.

saiute

before God.

Saint Ambrose saith, on this maner. It was so decreed of God, that after the lawe, the grace of God should requyre vnto saluatiō alonely faith, whi the thinge he proueth by the example of the prophet, saying. Blessed is that man, to whome god doth impute iustification, without workes. He sayth, ꝑ they be blessed, of whome God hath determined without labour, without all maner of obseruation, and alonelye by faith that they shall be iustified before God. Blessed are they, whose sinnes be forgeuen. Clerely they are blessed vnto whom without labour, or without any worke their iniquities be remitted, & their synnes be couered, & no maner of workes required of them, but alonly ꝑ they should beleue. &c. Be not these wordes plaine, god hath decreed ꝑ he shal require nothig to iustificatiō, but faith And he is blessed, to whom God imputeth iustification, withoute all maner workes without all maner of obseruatiōs? Also their synnes be couered, and no maner of workes of penance required of thē, but alonly to beleue. Ambros.

Here haue you sola fides, & tātū fides & here can you not say, ꝑ S. Ambrose speketh alonely of workes of ꝑ lawe but of

all

of al maner of wozkes, of all maner of obseruations, ye and also of penaunce Peraduenture it wyll be sayde, as a great doctour sayde ones to me, that s. Ambrose dyd vnderstande it of yonge chyldren, that were newlye baptised, them their faith shuld saue alonly wt out wozkes. Howbe thinke you, is not this a lykely answere for a great doctour of diuinite, for a great duns man for so great a preacher. Are not sayntt Paul, and saynt Ambrose well auoided and clerkly. But I made hym this answere that this pistle was wrytte of s. Paule to the romans, which were men, and not chylderne, And also the wordes of scripture, speake of the man & not of the chylde And saynt Ambrose sayth, blessed is that mā. But at this answere, he was not a lytle moued, & sware, by the blessed god, let Ambrose and Augustin, say what they wyll, he wolde neuer beleue, but that wozkes dyd helpe to iustificacyon. This was a lozdely wozde of a prelate, and of a pylier of Christes churche, But what medlynge is with suche madde men. But yet peraduenture you wyll say, howbe that I take a pece of ꝑ doctour as mouche as maketh for my purpose

Wherfora

Not

notwithstandyng he sayth otherwise in a nother place which I do not vnderstand what is that to me yet is not my doctoure thus auoyded. For you can not deny but this is his sayeng and vpon this place of scripture / and this doth agree with scripture / for elles he doth expounde scripture euyl.

Wherfore you muste aunswere to the sayenge of the doctour in this place, for this is the place that is layde against you, and this is the place / wher by other places must be expoũded and yf you deny him in this place, thã will I deny him in alother places, by that same auctorite, than be the holy doctours clerely gone. Neuertheles holy scriptur standeth openly agaynst you whiche yf you denye, than haue I a cause to suspecte you, wherfore take hede what you do. But yet parauenture wyl ye say that I vnderstand not saint Ambrose, nor holy doctours as my lord of Rochester saide how I vnderstode not Tertulian / he had none other euasiõ to saue his honour with. But this is not ynough, so to say, but you must proue it and other men muste iudge it / betwene you and me. Here haue I translated a great meyny of theyr sayinges into englysh let other men iudg

whether I vnderstand them or not. go ye to the latyn, & let vs se what other sence you can take out. But my lordes remembre your God is alyue. whose cause we defende, afore whom, I dare well say. you are alredy confounded in youre conscience, wherfore doubte you not, but that terrible vengeaūce hangeth ouer you, yf you repente not whiche whan it cōmeth .cōmeth sharpely. How are ye able to defende a thynge, that you can not proue openly by holye scripture Say what you wyll, youre cōscience wyl murmour, and grudge, and wyl neuer be satisfyed with mens domes, nor yet with tyrānny. Thynk you that youre lawes, and youre inuencions can be a sufficient rule for christē mē to lyue by and to saue theyr conscience ther by Thynke you, that your cause is sufficiently proued whan you haue compelled poore men by violēce to graunt it Than may we destroye all scriptures & receyue alonely youre tyrannye, But my lordes this matter is not ryghted by youre iudgement but by our maister Christe, and his blessed worde afore whose strayte iudgement you shall be iudged & straytly. For whan al youre grace al your honour al your dignite al youre

your pompe, and pryde. brcuely al that your hartes do now reioyce in, shal lye in the dust, than shal you be call:d to a straight reken̄ing, It is no lyght game nor no chyldes playe. Marke it well, for it lieth in your necke. But what ne deth me to lose many words, for yf you be halfe so full of grace, as you saye you be of good workes, than wyll you reken it better than I can moue you. But againe to our purpose. Saint Paul proueth the iustification of faith only, in these wordes, Ano man is iustified by the workes of the lawe, but by the faith of Jesus christ, and we do beleue in Jesus Christ, that we maye be iustified by ꝑ faith of Christ, & not by ꝑ workes of the lawe. Marke how he sayth, that no man is iustified by the workes of the lawe, no not saint Peter. Howe thinke you. doth not S. Paule exclude workes. and bryngeth in alonely fayth yea and that the workes of the lawe, whiche were the beste workes in the worlde, and he beleueth to be iustified onely by the faith of Jesus Christ. and not by workes: And that proueth he in these wordes of the prophet, A righte-wise man lyueth by faith, here you not howe a righteiseman lyueth by faith. gala. ii. Habacuc. ii

what call you lyuinge by faieth. yf he lyue any part by workes, than lyueth he not by faith, but partly by workes. Than is sainte Paules probation vnprofit. But let vs se how your doctors do expounde this texte. Howe doth he plainely shewe, that faith alonly hath the vertue in him to iustifie, and bringeth Abacucke sayinge, of faithe (and not of the lawe) shall a righteous man lyue. He addeth, well afore God, for afore man paraduenture they shalbe reckened righteous, that stycke to the law but not afore God. &c. Here haue you sola, onely. And also that this holy iustification is afore god, and after his iudgement, and not after mens iudgementes. wherfore glorye as muche as you can. of your good workes. They can not alonely iustifie you, But also they be of no valure, but dampnable, and be ry synne, yf there be no faith. So farre are they from helpynge to iustification This doth saint Augustyne witnes in these words. Those same workes that be done afore faith, though they seme vnto men laudable, yet are they but vayne. And I do iudge them, as greate strength, and as swyfte runninge oute of the waye, wherfore let no man count

Athanasius. Gala. iii

Aug. in prol Gal. xxi

his good workes before faith, wher as faith is wāt. there is no good worke, the intencion maketh a good worke, but faith doth guyde the intencion. ¶ Here saint Augustine condempneth al your good workes afore faith, and saith that they be nothinge worthe, but vain and thinges out of the way. Howe can suche thinges helpe to iustificacion? Marke also how that your good intencion, wherevpon you bosste, that you do so many good workes by, can not helpe you, for he is blynde, & knoweth not what to do, though he stande well in his owne conseite) without faithe, whiche is his guyde. So that all thinges afore faith, are out very blyndnes. But as sone as faith commeth, he doth both iustifie, and also maketh the workes good, whiche were afore synne, But lerne se what S. Barnarde saithe of good workes. I do abhorre, saith he what soeuer thinge is of me. Except peraduenture, that that be myne. that God hath made me his. By grace hath he iustified me freely, and by that hath he delyuered me from the bondage of synne, Thou haste not chosen me, saith Christe) but I haue chosen the, nor I founde no merites in the, that mighte

good worke without faithe are but synne,

Bar: super cā. ser. lxxii.

moueme to chose the, but I preuented al thy merites. wherfore thou by faith haue I maried the vnto me, and not by the workes of the law. I haue maried the also in iustice, but not in the iustice of the law, but in that iustice, which is of faith. Now this remaineth, that ꝑ do iudge a right iudgemente betwene the and me, Giue thou iudgemẽt, wher in that I haue maried the, where it is open, that thy merites dyd not come be fore, but my pleasure and will. &c. S. Barnarde doth despise al his good workes and taketh hym onely to grace, but you sticke partely to your good workes and not onely to grace. Had saint Barnarde no good workes to sticke to.

workes of ꝑ new lawe

Marke that S. Barnarde is gods child freely by grace, which cannot be, yf workes do helpe lesse or more. was he not a christened man. Had he no workes of the newe lawe, as you cal them. I thinke he yeas. And yet he sayth he, that there was no merites, nor anye goodnes, but that we were freely chosen. Wherfore he prouoketh you, and all suche as you be, to iudge ryghtewisely betwene god and you, the whiche hath preuented all your goodnes, and that of hys owne will, and of his owne pleasure.

How

How can he finde any goodnes, that preuenteth all goodnes. So that heere haue you clerely, that good workes of the lawe. & morall good workes (as you faine) do nothinge helpe to iustification afore God, for they be preuented of iustification. This is also well proued by saint Augustines sayinges. Fulg. de spiri. & le. ca. xiii.

Wherfore these thinges cõsidered, and declared after the strengthe, that it hath pleased god to gyue vs, we do gather, that a man can not be iustified, by the preceptes of good liuynge that is not by the lawe of workes / but by the lawe of faith, not by the letter, but by the spirite, not by the merites of workes, but by free grace. &c. Here you this? Not by the merites of workes, but by free grace. what call you free grace, but without all thynges, sauing grace. what call you not of workes, but that workes helpe nothynge. For yf workes dyd helpe. than wolde he not say, not of workes, but not of workes onely, but parte of workes, and parte of faith, but he excludeth e workes fully, and onely. Agayne the same thinge that purchaseth vs remissiõ of our sinnes, doth also purchase iustification, for iustificatiõ is nothing, but remissiõ

of

of synnes. Nowe faith purchaseth vs remyssiō, Ergo, by faythe we are iustified. Nowe that faith doth purchase remyssion of synnes, it is wel proued by this article of our faith, Credo remissionem peccatorum, I beleue remission of synnes. Nowe yf I haue not this remission for faith, than faythe deceyueth me, for I do beleue onely, bicause I wolde haue remission of synnes. what nedeth me to beleue remission of synnes, yf I may deserue it by
Luc. xvii. workes. Also our mayster Christ declareth openly, that no maner of workes, what so euer they be, can iustifie afore God. These be his wordes: whan you haue done all thynges, that be commaunded you, yet saye, that we are vnprofitable seruauntes, If you be vnprofitable, than be you not iustified. And yf you can not be iustified, whan you haue done all thynges, howe wyll you be iustified, whan you do in a maner nothynge, and specially of those thynges, that be comaunded you. wherfore this is playne, that our workes cā not helpe vs to iustificacion. For whan we haue done all thinges, yet we are vnprofitable. But let vs proue this by an ope example. I put this case my lorde

(vnto

vnto you I speake) that our moost no-
ble prince wouldе call you al afore him
and say, My lords, so it is, that it hath
pleased vs to call you vnto the spiritu-
al dignitie of bishops, and to make you
of our counsell. and lordes ouer our
realme and also of our parliament.
Nowe wolde we knowe of you, whiche
of you all hath deserued it, or reckeneth
hym selfe worthy by his deserupnge,
lesse or moore of this dignite? what wil
you saye to this. what wil you answer
to the kynges grace. Is there one amō
ge you all, that dare be so bolde as to
say to the kynges grace that he hathe
not giuen it vnto him freelye. but that
he hathe doone the kynge so faithfull
seruyce, that he was bounde to geue it
vnto hym. yea. and that of his deser-
upnge, If there were one, that were so
proude, as to saye this, thinke you
that the kynges grace wouldе not laye
to his charge, howe that he hadde not
done halfe his duetie, but were rather
bounde, to do ten times as mochе more
and yet ꝑ kinges grace were not bound
to giue him a byshoprike, for he hadde
done but his duetie, and not all that
Nowe yf youre good workes, & al your
faythful seruice, be not able to deserue
a byf

a bysshoprike, of the kynges grace. How wyll you be able by your workes, to deserue heauen, & iustification afore the kynge of all kynges. whan you haue answered to this, afore the kynges grace, than come, & dispute with god, the iustificatio of youre bookes, & yet shal they be farre vnlike. Wherfore I conclude of these scriptures, and of these doctours, that the faith, that we haue in Christ Jesus, and in his blessed blod doth onel, and sufficiently iustifie vs afore god, without the helpe of anye workes.

And though that all scripture be nothinge els, but a hole probation of this article, that is alonly a perfite commundacion, and a praise of Christ & of hys blessed merites, that he hath deserued for vs, yet will I passe ouer to bringe in any mo places. For they that are not content with these scriptures, wyl not be satisfied nor yet content to giue alonly glory to god, though I broughte in all the newe testament. ye Christ hym selfe could not satisfye them, yf he were here, no no? yet though heauen, & earth, and all creatures therin, were nothing els, but probations of this article, it wolde not helpe. Wherfore I let

suche

before god
suche infidels passe, and leue them to ꝑ
iudgement of god, alonelye certifienge
them of this one thinge, that is infallib
ble, how the day shal come, that it shal
repent them, ye, and that sorer than I
can either write, or thinke, that they
bydde not beleue the lest prick of this
holy article But vnto our purpose.
The verye true waye of iustification
is this: I synne commeth God, for the
loue of christ Iesus, alonly of his mere
mercye, and giueth vs freely the gifte of
faith, whereby we do beleue god, and
his holy worde, and stycke fast vnto ꝑ
promises of god, and beleue, that thou-
ghe heauen, and earthe, and all that is
in them should perish, ꝑ come to nought
per God, shall be found true in his pro-
myses: for this faithes sake, be we the
elect coplorē of god. This is not such
a faith as men dreame whā they beleue
that there is one god, and beleue, that
he is eternal, beleue also that he made
the worlde of noughte, yea and beleue
that the gospell is true, and all thinge
that god speaketh must be true, and
fulfylled with other suche thynges.
This I say, is not the faith, that we be
iustified by for deuyls, ꝑ infidels, haue
this fayth, ꝑ also we may attaine to
Fiders histor
ca
theſe

these thynges by strength of reason, But the faythe, that shall iustifie vs, must be of an other maner strength, for it must come from heuen, and not from the strength of reasō. It must also make me beleue, that god the maker of heuē and erthe, is not alonely a father, but also my father: yea, and that thoro we the fauour, that christ hath purchased me, from that which fauour neyther heuen, nor erthe, trybulacion, nor persecucyon, dethe, nor hell, can departe me. But to this stycke I faste, that he is not alonely my father, but also a mercyful father, yea and that vnto me mercyfull, and so mercyfull, that he wyll not imputte my synnes vnto me, thoughe they be neuer so great, so long as I hange on ꝑ blessed bloude of christ Iesus, and synne not of malice, but of frayle, and of no pleasure.

Fides iustificās.

Rom. viii.

He is also a lyberall father, yea & that vnto me lyberall, whiche wyl not alonlye promyse me all thinges, but also ꝑforme them me, whether they be necessarye to the body, or to the soule. He is also not alonly lyberall, but mygtye to performe all thinges, that he hathe promysed vnto me. Brenely, this fayth maketh me to hange clerely of God, &

of his blessed promises made in Christ and in his swete and precious bloude, and not to fere death, nor none afflicc̃on/nor persecutions/nor tribulation, but to dispise al these thinges. and not alonely these but to despise also myne owne life, for Christes sake.

The frutes of fayth

Finally, of a fleshlye beaste/it maketh me a spirituall man, of a dampnable childe, it maketh me a heauenlye sonne, of a seruaunt of the deuyl, it maketh me a free man of God, both delyuered from the lawe, from synne, from death, from the deuyll. and from al miserye that might hurte me. My lordes this is that faith, that doth iustifie, & ỹ we do preache. And bycause it is giuen from heauen into our hartes by ỹ spirite of god, therfore it can be no ydle thinge. But it must nedes do all maner of thinges, that be to the honoure of god and also to the profit of our neibour. In so muche, that at all tymes necessarye it must nedes worke wel, and also bryng forth al good workes, that maye be to the profit, and helpynge of any m̃. But these workes be not done to iustifie the man, but a iust man must nedes do them. Not vnto his profite but alonly to other mens profites. euen as oure maister Christe suffered hunger

ger, and thurste, and persecution, and
toke great labours in preachyng of
his worde, yea and also suffered deth
All these thynges, I say, dyd he not to
further, or to profyte hym selfe, but
for our mercytes, and for our profyt.
So lyke wyse doth a iuste mãbis wor
kes. And as a good tre in tyme of the
yere, bryngeth forthe good apples, not
to make him good, for he is good afore
nor yet this apple is not to his profyte
but vnto other mens, notwithstãding
the good nature, that is in hym muste
nedes bryng it forthe. So lykewyse
the iuste man muste nedes do good wor
kes, not by them to be iustified, but al-
only in them to serue his brother: for
he hath no nede of thē, as concernynge
his iustification. wherfore nowe here
haue you ꝑ very trew way, & maner of
doynge good workes. And how that
no man can do good workes, but a iusti
fied man, as our M. Christ saythe, Ei-
ther make the tree good, and than his
frute must be good, or els the tree euyl,
and his frute also euyll, for a good tre
muste nedes bryng forthe good frute
And a badde, euyll frute. But nowe let
me answere to ꝑ scriptures, & to ꝑ rea-
sons,

An example howe fayth bringeth forth good workes

Mat. vii.

sons, that they bryng to prour þ wor-
kes do iustifie. Fyrst commeth the flesh
shely, and dampnable reason, and she
sayth, yf we be iustified alonely by fayth, what ned we to do any good wor-
kes: what nede we to crucifie, or to
mortifie our flesshe, for all these wyll
not profyte vs, and we shall be saued
thoughe we do none of them all. Thus
dyd blynd reason dispute with saynt. Rom. vi
Paule, whan that he had proued, that
God of his mercy, had delyuered vs
freely from the dampnable bondage
of the lawe. Anone he iudged, that he
might do what he wold, for he was no
longer vnder the lawe. To this sayn t
Paul answereth, That yf we obeye vn-
to the workes of synne, than are we
the seruantes of synne, and yf we obey
to the workes of iustice, than are we
the seruantes of iustice. So that yf we
truely haue that same faithe, þ iusti-
fieth vs, we shal desire to do nõe other
workes but those, that belonge to iu-
stificaciõ, not þ the workes do iustifie,
but þ we must nedes do these workes, as
þ very true frutes of iustificaciõ & not
as þ cause of iustificaciõ. And therfore
those men, that wyll do no good workes
bicause they be iustified only by faith

Solucions & argumentes to the, scrip tures.

be

be not the childrē of God, nor the chyl
dren of iustificacion. For the lyuynge
spirit of God is none auctour of synne
nor of syn, but he crieth in our hertes,
Abba pater. And of that, is this a sure,
and an euident token, for yf they were
the very true childrē of god, they wold
be ꝑ gladder to do good workes bicause
that they are iustified freely. Therfore
shuld they also be moued freely to wor
kes, yf it were for no nother purpose,
nor profyte, but alonely to do the wyll
of theyr mercyfull God, that hath so
freely iustified them, & also to profyte
their neyghbour, whō they are bound
to serue of very trewe charyte.
Take an example, here is a thefe, that
is condempned by right, and by lawe
to be hanged, whom the kynges grace
of his mercy, dothe freely deliuer from
the gallous, & giueth him his pardon.
Nowe this thefe, thus delyuered, will
not kepe him selfe a trewe man, nor do
those workes, that belōg to a true mā
to do, but faileth againe to stelinge, bi
cause the kinge pardoned him so freelie
and reckeneth that the kinge is so mer
ciful, that he will hange no theues, but
deliuer them al of his mercy/without
they? deseruing. Nowe howe thinke
you,

you .wyll the kyng be mercyful vnto
this theefe whan he cõmeth agayne to
ꝑgallous, May truly .for he was not
delyuered for that cause but for to kep
hym selfe a true man, ¶ Than cõmeth
my lorde of Rochester, and he sayethe,
that fayth doth begyn a iustification
in vs, But workes do perfourme it and
make it perfyt, I wyl resyte his own
wordes: Per fidem initiari dicitur iu Artic.
stitia solum non autem consummari,
nam consummata iustitia non aliter
quam ex operibus nates et in lucē edi
tis acquiri potest, opera consummate
iustificant. Fides primum inchoat. &c.
what christened man wold thynk that
a byshop wolde thus tryfle, and playe
with gods holy worde? Gods word is
so playne, that no man can auoyde it,
howe that fayth iustifieth alonly, and
now cõmeth mi lord of Rochester with
a lytle, and a vayne distinction, inuen
ted of his owne brayne without aucto
rite of scripture, & wyll clerely auoyd
al scriptures, and al the hole disputa
tion of S. Paule But my lorde, saye
to me of youre conscience how do you
reken to auoyde the vengaunce of god
syth yeu thus tryfle, and dispise gods
holy word Thynk you, that this vain

distinction, wyl be alowed afore Jesus Christ for whose glory we do contende & fyght afore whom we do handle this matter I do thynk verely that youre owne conscience doth fore accuse you for thus blasphemyng the holy word of God wherfore my lord for Christes sake remembre that you be aged & shal not long tary here & these vayne distinc cions ꝑ you haue inuẽted to the pleasur of men and to the great peruertinge of Gods holy word shall be to your euer lastyng dampnacion. And at the lesse wayes yf you fere not the terrible ven geãce of god, remembre the shame of the worlde and thynke not that al men be so madde, and so vnlerned, as for to be disceyued by this triflyng distinct on seing that the worde of god is so playne agaynst it Doth not S Paule
ephe, ii, say that our iustification is alonely of fayth and not of workes Howe can you auoyd this same Non ex operibus Not of workes yf that workes do make iustification per fyt, than are not, S. Paules wordes true Also S. Paul sayth that we be the chyldrẽ of god by fayth And yf we be the chyldren we are also the heyres, Marke what imper fection fynde you in chyldren and in

heyres,

beyres Christen men desyr no more but this. and al this haue they by fayth onely. And wyll you say, that fayth doth but begynne a iustificacion. Besid that. you knowe wel, that sayut Paul doth proue in al the tole pistles to ỹ Romans, and also to the Galathians that fayth doth iustifie, yea. & that by contencion agaynst workes. Now how can you bryngе in workes to make iustificacion perfecte. And s. paule hath excluded them Moreouer why dyd not the Jewes agaynste whose workes s paule disputeth bryng in this distinction for them. Breuely what wil you say to al the doctors that I haue here rehited, whiche saye that Sola fides, onely fayth doth iustifie But doubtles if it were not to satisfie other mē, this distinccion were not worthy an answere An other dampnable reason is made that is an open, and a plaine lye whiche is this Thou sayest that workes do not iustifie nor yet helpe to iustificacion but fayth onely Ergo ỹ destroyest al good workes and wylt that no man shal worke wel but alone ly beleue

I answer, if there were any shame in men, they myght wel be asshamed of

these open lyes .Tell me one that is lerned .ꝑ euer dyd saye or teache that men shulde do no good workes. Many there be, that saye workes do not iustifie, As saynt Paule, and all his scholours but no man denieth good workes But I meruyle not at them for theye do but the workes of theyr father whiche was a lyar, and a murtherer from the begynning, I praye you. what consequent is this, after youre owne logyycke workes do not iustifie, Ergo, we nede not to do them, but dispise the for they be of no valure, Take a lyke consequent, you saye, that the kinges grace doth not iustifie Ergo you dispise hym Ergo, he is no longer kynge Also the sonne, and moone do not iustifi Ergo, you destroy them But such a dampnable lye, must S, Paule nedes suffre whan he had proued that fayth onely dyd iustifie, than came youre ouerthwarte farthers and sayde Ergo, thou destroyest the law for thou teacheth that it iustifieth not/ god forbid saith saynt paul for we do lerne the very way to fulfill the law, that is faith whereby the lawe alonely is fulfyled. and without the which all the workes of the lawe be but sinne So do we lyke

rome.iii

wise

wyse teache the very true way, wher by all good workes must be done. As fyrst, a man by fayth to be iustified, & than a iuste man muste nedes do good workes. which afore were but sinne, & nowe be al good yea his eatyng drikig and slepinge, are good. ¶ But besyde al these haue you certayne scriptures, Fyrste of saint James. whose wordes be these wylt thou vnderstande o thou vaine mā, that fayth without dedes is deed. was not Abraham our father iustified of his dedis whan he offered his sonne Isaac on the alter Lek wise was not Raab the harlot iustified. whan she receyued the messengers and sent them out an other waye S. Augu: doth declare in diuerse places. that blessed saynt paul and s James semed for to be contrary in this matter. And therfore s. Aug. willinge to saue the estimation of this epistle, dothe declare howe that s. Paul doth speake of workes that go before fayth and s James speaketh of workes, that folowe fayth And yet s. Augustine wyll not be compelled by the wordes of this epistle, to graunte that anye workes do iustifie, by the reason. that s. Pauls wordes be so apartly, and vehemently to ꝑ

Jacob. ii

Aug. lrrr. qu. c. lrxvi

contrary wherfore seing that there be
meth a controuersy here in two places
of the scripture, it standeth with all
reason, and learninge, that the same
place which semeth for to be feblest, &
also darkest/shulde be expounded, and
declared, by that part of scriptur, that
is cleerest and most of auctorite. Nowe
is this of truth, that the auctoritie of
S. Paule hath alwaies in the churche
of god, ben of more estimation, and
strengthe then euer was this epistle
(though that this epistle hath ben re-
ceiued) and especially in this cause, þ
we nowe here speake of. For in all the
scripture is not this article of iustifi-
cation so playnly, and plentcouselye
handeled, as it is by blessed S. Paule/
this must euery learned man graunte.
Wherfore it standeth with reason, and
learninge, that this sayinge of saynte
James, must nedes be reduced, and
brought vnto blessed S. paules meninge
and not S. Paule vnto S. James saying
Now therfore in as moch, that bothe
blessed S. paul, and also S. James mea-
nyng, is þ good workes shuld be done
& they that be christen men, shulde not
be ydle, and do no good, because that
they are the children of grace, but þ

they

they shulde rather in their lyuyng ex-
pres outwardly theyr goodnes, recey-
ued of grace. And as blessed s. Paule Rom. vi.
saith. To gyue their membres to be ser
uantes vnto rightwisnes, as they wer
afore seruauntes vnto vnclennes. For
this cause (I say) s. Iames sayīg must
nedes be vnderstonded, for to be wryt-
ten against those men, þ boosted thē sel
nes, of an ydle and vaine opinion, that
they thought thē selues to haue, why
the they tekened to be a good faith.
Nowe s. Iames to proue, þ this faith
was but an idle thing, & of none effect
doth declare it clerely, by that, that it
brought forth in tyme, & place cōuent
ent, no good workes. And therefore he
calleth it a dead faith. He bringeth in
also a naked brother, the whiche hath
nede of clothing, vnto these men, that
boosted their faith, which hath no cō
passion of his necessitie, wherfore he
cōcludeth, that thei haue no tru faith
And therfore he saith vnto thē. shewe
vnto me thy faith without workes, &
I shall shewe vnto the of workes, my
faith, Here is it playne, that s. Iames
wold no more, but þ þ faith is a dede
faith & of no valure, that hath no wor
kes. For workes shuld declare & shew

the

the outwarde faithe. & workes shulde be an outwarde declaration and a testimonie of the inwarde iustification, receyued of faythe, not that workes can or maye take awaye our synne, or elles be any satisfaccion, for any part of it, for that belongeth alonly to Christ. As blessed S. Iohn sayethe, and also saynte Paule. He hath appeared ons for all, 1. Iohn. ii. to put synne to flyghte, by the offering vp of him self. And that this is sayne James meaning, it is declared by that that followeth. Thou seeste, sayth he, Hebr. ix that sayethe wrought in Abrahams dedes, and thorough his dedes was his faith made perfect. Marke how faith wrought in his dedes. That is, his faith, because it was a lyuinge faith brought forth & wrought out, that high worke of oblacion. Also his faithe was perfect thorough his dedes. that is his faith was declared, & had a grett testimonie afore al the world, that it was a lyuynge, and a perfecte, and a ryght shapen faith / that Abraham had So that his inwarde faithe declared hym afore god, and his outwarde workes afore the worlde to be good and iustified, and thus was his faith made perfecte afore god and man. Now vn-

to

to this do we all agree, that that faith alonely iustifieth afore god. which in tyme and place, doth worke wel. yet, it is a lyuynge thynge of god which can not be deade/nor idle in man. But yet for all that, we dogiue to faith/and to christes bloud. that glory þ belongeth to them onely, that is to saye iustificatiō/remission of synnes/satisfienge of gods wrath/takyng away of euerlasting vengeaunce, purchasynge of mercy, fulfyllynge of the lawe/with all other lyke thinges,

The glori of these, I say, belongeth to Christ onely, & we are partakers of thē by fayth, in Christes bloude onely

For it it no worke that receyueth the promise made in Christes bloude, but fayth onely Take an example GOD saith to Abraham, In thy sede shall I blesse al my people Now can Abrahās workes do nothynge to receyuynge of this blessynge nor yet can they make him hange on that sede, but he beleueth God, and stycketh faste by faithe to that promyse and thynketh þ God shall be trewe though he be a liar And so is he partaker of the blessyng made ī þ seede, Note also, þ this' bellyng is promysed in Abrahams sede, & not to

Abra

Abrahams workes. Ergo, Abraham is blessed because he hangeth on the seed and not on hys workes. Also blessed S. Paule doth geue a good argument against workes. in asmuch as scripture sayth, in semine, non in seminibus quasi in multis, sed i vno, Now yf workes do helpe lesse or more to iustification, than muste nedes the promyse be made, and partayne to manye and not to one onely, the whiche were gore against blessed S. paul, Wherfore I conclude. that the glory, and prayse of iustification bilongeth only to faith in christes bloude, and not to workes in any wyse. Notwithstandynge we do also laude, & prayse good workes, & do teache diligently to do good workes, in as moche as God theyr maker hath commaunded them, yea and also to profyt their neighboures by theyr good workes, and furthermore that other men, whiche blaspheme the veritie, myght be moued thorow: their vertuous lyuing. and conuersation. to the holy relygion of Christ. For these causes, and other mo, I say, do I teach good men to lyue well, and vertuously yea, and also we teach, that good workis shal haue a rewarde of god as scripture

Gala. iii.

pture testifieth. But not remissyon of synnes nor yet iustification, for their rewarde. Wherfore this sayng of S. Iames must nedes be verified against them, that boosted them selues of vayne faith. that was in deede, but an ydle opinion, and no true faith, for it dyd not worke thorowe charitie. And therfore saint Iames disputeth well against them, that this fayth was but a dead thinge, and coulde not help the no more, thā it helpeth the deuyll. So that this sayinge of sayne Iames, maketh nothinge against me but rather with me.

¶ Also you haue another scriptur for you which in this. Before god, they are not iustified which here ꝑ law, but they, whiche do the lawe, shalbe iustified. Of this text you glorye, and crye opera, opera, workes workes, But yf ye wolde consider the mynd of S. paule you shulde well perceiue, ꝑ he meneth not, how workes myght deserue iustification, for than coulde he not haue cōcluded this against ꝑ Iewes for they dyd the workes of ꝑ law to the vttermost, & yet were they not iustified, wherfore S. Paul meaneth by ꝑ hearers of the lawe, al them ꝑ do ꝑ outwarde

workes

workes of ꝑ lawe for feare, or for reward, or of hypocrisie, or els by them to be iustified. The doers calleth he them, that do the workes of the lawe, after the intent of the lawe, and as the lawe commaundeth them, that is, in the true faythe of christ Iesus, which is the very ende of the lawe, & the fulfyllynge of the lawe, as saynt Paule saythe) to all them, that belue. wherfore all men be but herers only of the lawe, tyll the tyme that they haue the faythe of Christ Iesus, whiche is imputed vnto them for iustice, And the workes of the lawe be no cause of iustification, but alonely an outwarde testimonie, and wytnes, that the lawe is fulfylled inwardely in theyr conscience afore God, & so fulfylled, that it hath no accusacion agaynste them, for christ hath made satisfaction for them, of ꝑ whiche they be partakers, by theyr faythe, And so the lawe muste be content to admytte all these men, to be fulfyllers, & doers of the lawe. And nowe that you shal not say, that this is my dreame, here be S. August. wordes.

Aug, de spir et lit, The doers of the lawe, shall be iustified. So must it be vnderstande, that we may knowe, ꝑ they can no nother wyse

wyse be the doers of the lawe, excepte, they be fyrste iustified/not that iustificacio belongeth vnto doers, but that iustificacion dothe precede all maner of doynges. &c. Here you not, ꝑ iustificacion is fyrste gyuen, ꝑ men myghte be able to do the workes of the lawe. Glosa
This is also the expolition of your cōmon glosse, I haue meruayle you studi it no better.
¶ Also you haue an nother scripture, and that is this. Cornelius a gentyll dyd great almesse, & prayde vnto god alwayes, Vnto whom ꝑ aungell spake on this maner: Thy prayer, and thy almesses, are come vp into remēbraunce in the presence of God Of this texte you gather, that his good workes, dyd helpe to iustifie hym. I answere, The holy ghoste hath openly declared him selfe there. For he sayth, ꝑ this Cornelius was a deuoute mā, & one ꝑ feared God. Howe coulde this be, without ꝑ God had taughte hym inwardely by faythe? yea, howe could he knowe god and that deuoutly, but by faythe? ergo he was iustified afore God, by his fayth, but the worlde knew not his iustificacion. And therfore the holy goste doth declare his inward iustificacion, Actu. x
whan

whan he sayeth, that he was deuoute and feared God, And also doth shewe openly, the frutes of his iustification whan he sayth, that he dyd almesse moreouer, you haue there, that ꝑ holy goost fel on them afore they were bapty sed in water, the which declareth openly, ꝑ they were iustified afore god This is well declared also in youre owne lawe, whose wordes be these Cornelius Centurio, beinge yet a hethen man was made clene by the gyfte of the holy ghoste Here haue you plainly that he was iustified by the gift of the holy gost afore all good workes for he was an hethen man. An other scripture ye haue, which is this yf I haue all fayth, so that I may transpose mountaynes, and haue no charyte, I am nothing. Of this gether you, that fayth without charyte can not iustifie I and were This can you not gether of sayne Paule, for it is open, that he speaketh not of this thynge, whereby that men may be iustified, but alõely he teacheth howe they that be iustified, must worke with charite, It is also playne, that he spaketh not of fayth, that doth iustifie inwardly but of that faith that doth worke outwardlye the, whiche

xi. quest. viii. Non omnes episcopi

is

is called a gyft of the holy ghoste, As the gyfte of tonges, the gyft of prophe sies, the gyfte of healynge, the gyfte of interpretation, as it is open in the chapiter afore. Now is this fayth not gyuen to iustifie, but alonely to doo myracles, wonders, and signes by: And therfore sayth Paul, yt I had al faith so ỳ I could moue mountayns. Also it is open that certayn men shal say vnto christ Behold, we haue done myracles and caste out deuyls in thy name. And yet he shal say to them, Truly I know you not So that this fayth is a gyfte of God that iustifieth not no more thā the gyft of science, or prophesies and somtyme is it in the churche. and somtyme not and it is neuer of necessite therto be But the fayth ỳ we speake of whiche doth beleue the promyses of God, & stycketh faste to the bleude of Christ hath none other vertu but to iustifie and must nedes iustifie where soeuer he is, and he stycketh so faste to Gods worde, that he loketh for no myracles This fayth is neuer out of the Churche, for it is the lyfe of the Churche and it is that fayth that our mayster Christe prayde for that it myghte neuer fayle. And therfore sayntt Paul Wath. vii

end worketh not as an hyerelynge For
) fit were possible, that there were no
Heuen, yet woide he do no lesse goode,
For his respecte is to the maker of the
worlde, and the lorde of all rewardes.
¶ Ther is also an other argument and
that is this Fayth is a worke, & works
kes doth not iustifie, ergo, fayth doth
not iustifie, Resp. Truth it is, that wee
do not meane, howe that fayth for his
owne dignite, and for his owne perfec
tion, doth iustifie vs, But the scrip
ture doth saye that fayth alonely iu
stifieth, bicause that it is that thyng
alonely, whereby I do hange of Christe
And by my fayth alonely am I partas
ker of the merites & mercy purchased
by Christes bloude And fayth it is al
onely that receyue the promyses made
in Christe. wherfore we say with bles
sed S. Paule, that fayth onely iustifi
eth imputatiue, that is, All the merites
and goednes grace and fauour, and all
that is in Christe, to our saluacion is
imputed and reken'd vnto vs, bicause
we hange, and beleue of hym and hee
discreyue no man that doth beleue in hi
And our iustice is not as the scholemē
teacheth a formall iustice which is by
fulfyllyng of the lawe, deserued of
vs

vs. For than our iustification were not of grace, and of mercy, but of deseruing and of duety. But it is a iustice, that is reckened, and imputed vnto vs, for the faith in Christ Jesus. And it is not of our deseruinge, but clerely, and fullye of mercy imputed vnto vs.

¶ Now moste honourable, and gracious prince, I haue here declared vnto your hyghnes, what faith it is, ꝑ doth iustifie vs before god, and also brought for my sentence, not alonely the blessed worde of God, the whiche were sufficient in this cause, But the exposition of holy doctors, that your grace might se, that I am not moued to this opinion of a lyghte cause, nor that this doctrine of myne is so newe, as men hath noted it. Moreouer, I haue declared vnto your grace howe that I wolde haue good workes doone, and wolde not haue a christen mans lyfe, to be an ydle thinge. or elles a lyfe of vnclennes. But I wolde haue them to be chaunged into all vertue, and goodnes, and to lyue in good workes, after the commaundement, and wyll of god, So that your grace may well perceaue, ꝑ myne aduersaries hathe not reported truely

on me, whā they haue layde, howe that I wolde, that men shulde neither faste, nor pray, nor gyue almes, nor yet be penytēt for theyr synnes. I haue neuer layd it, nor yet taughte no lyke sentēce I take God to recorde, my workes, and my dedes, and all my wrytynges, that euer I wrote, or made. Wherfore I doubt not, yf it please your grace, graciously to here me. but that I wyll proue them vntrewe in this cause, and in many other mo. This doth al mighty god know to be true. Who euer preserue youre moost ryall maiestie in honour, and goodnes

A M E N

What holy Churche is, and who be therof, and wherby men may knowe her.



In my fyrst booke I dyd declare, howe ꝑ certayn men did take vpon thē to be counted of holy Church, whose maners, and lyuynges, dyd not thynge agree with holy churche. But after that commeth mayster Moore, and he layeth to my charge, that I counted all the spiritualtie to be noughte, bicause he wolde make my name somwhat odious vnto them But verely he doth me great wronge for it was neuer my meanyng nor yet my sayng But myn entent was to declare that neyther the Pope, nor his college of Cardinalles, nor yet all the byshoppes in the worlde gathered togyther dyd make holy churche bicause of theyr names, or elles for theyr longe gownes or for theyr shauen crownes or els anoynted fyngers nor yet for any other exterior thinges that the worlde had in admiration But yet neuertheles I dyd graunt, and also do

nowe confesse many good men to haue
Wauen crownes, and also long gownes
But yet for these thynges, they were
nener the more of the churche. All the
popes learning hath ben, that he, and
his, hath ben the churche whiche can
not erre. & all thinges that belonge vn
to them, were called the goodes of holy
churche, All lawes made by them were
the lawes of holy church.

xiiii quęs i. c
quodcunque
in verbo re-
conciliat

They myght not be conuen-
ted afore no temporall prince, because
they were men of holy churche. They
might not be hanged for murther, be-
cause they were annointed, and of ho-
ly churche. Breuely there be innume-
rable suche thinges inuented of them,
to maintaine, and to defende their ho-
lynes, and to proue that they be holy
churche, the whiche thinges, I think
M. More cā not deny. And yf he wold
yet there be a grete many of bokes forth
comming to proue my sentence against
hym. And also the practise that hathe
ben vsed in the worlde, wyll testifie ỹ
same. I thinke M More, nor yet anye
man lyuinge, dydde euer knowe in his
tyme, that any man was iudged, or ta-
ken to be of the churche, but such men
as I haue spoken of, And I think this

name churche, was neuer named, but it was taken specially, and principally for those men þ had shauen crownes, & other like tokens. Let me be reported to those men, that be on lyue. Nowe. Because I saw, that these thinges were nothing the cause of holy churche, nor yet belonged greatly to holy churche, therfore I say, was I moued to declare what holy church was, and who were therof, & by what sygnes, and tokens, men might know her.

¶ Nowe to declare this. I brought certaine places of scripture to proue, that this worde ecclesia, was taken in scripture for the hole congregation, both of good and badde. But I sayde, I wold not greatly speake of that congregation, for that was not it, that coulde not erre, of the which was myne entent to speake. And I brought for me, the sayinge of sayn̄t Paule. Christ hath gyuen hym selfe, for his churche, that he might sāctifie her, & clense her in the fountayne of water through the worde of lyfe, to make her to hym selfe a glorious churche, without spotte or wrincle, or anye suche thynge. Ephe. v.

But that she might be holye: and without blame. To proue, that the churche was clensed by Christe,

A

I brought the sayinge of S. Augustine for me, Of Christ is the churche made faire. First was she filthy in synnes, afterwarde by pardon, and by grace, was she made fayre, &c.

Aug de verbis domini. ser. 1

Moreouer, to proue, that this churche was made clene by Christe and not by names, or by clothing, or by anye other exteriour thinge. I brought for me the saying of S. Iohn. yf the sonne of God haue deliuered you, than are you truely deliuered. Also S. Paule. you are washed, you are sanctified. you are iustified, in the name of Iesus Christ and in the spirite of god. But vnto these thinges, doth M. More answere, that I do not well to exclude, out of this churche bad men, for the knowne church (saithe he) standeth in a gatherynge together of good men and bad, and to proue that he bringeth in certaine parables of our sauiour christ. To this I answer, that I neuer denied, but that there was suche a congregation of good and bad. But I saide. that that was not the very true churche, afore God, thoughe it bere the name of the churche, and in very dede, his owne parables doth declare that our maister Christ shal at length, gyue sentence agaynste them, that call them

Iohn. 1

1. cor. vi

themselues falsly of the church Judas was called an Apostle, and taken so of all his company, But yet our M, christ calleth hym the deuil. Now yf maister More wyll haue Judas in his churche I must be content, that he shall also betraye christ. The verye truthe is, that badde men ben mixt here in the church and after outwarde signes, ben taken for membres of the church, specially, yf they be not excommunicate, But the church which I dyd speake of, was not a felowshyp gathered together in a cõsent of exterior thinges, and ceremonyes, as other politike felowshippes be But it is a felowshyp specially gathered together in the vnite of faythe, hauinge the holye ghoste within them to sanctifie their spirites whiche doth set their truste only in the redemption promised them in christes blessed blonde. This I saye, is the very trewe church of god let the worlo say what they wil and let men call them selues as it pleaseth them. For as saint Paul sayth, he that hath not the spirit of God, is none of his. Also Maister Mores learnynge wyll graunt that eupll men, ben ỹ dead membres of the churche, what they be worthe, let other men iudge. But Maister

Howe eupl men be in ỹ churche.

what they ry true chuche is

Roma, viii.

Homo mortalis non ch homo

ster More reckeneth, that there is not suche a churche here in earthe, that is without spotte, and wrincle, as saincte Paule sayth. For the churche sayth he is here gratious, and not glorious.

Truely. I haue marualle what he meaneth, thus to expounde saincte Paules sayinge, for I think he can not proue, but that Saint Paules saying is verefied of the churche, that is here militant, and not of the church triumphant. But I wyll not at this time greatlye dispute with M. More, But and yf he were as he hath ben. I wold saye some thyng more to hym, than I will do at this time. He cã neyther mocke me, nor iest me out of conseit. & I were disposed to cople with him, nor it is not his foolysh, and shameles wordes and vntrue sayinges, that he layeth to me: that could feare me. But now that it hath pleased god (without any helpe or knowledge of me) to bringe hym vnto thys fall I wyll pray to God for hym, to geue him grace, that he may reuoke al such false doctrine, as he hath brought into the worlde. For doubtles, yf he abyde in ỹ meanynge, that he is nowe in I do not se, howe he can dye Gods seruaunt yea his owne knowne churche is agaynst hym: whom he sayth men are bound

What More layeth many chiges to me wrongfully

to beleue/vnder paine of dampnation
But truly as God shall iudge me, I am
sory for his trouble/yf I coulde helpe
hym with any lawfull meanes. I wold
do my best/so cuyll wyll beare I hym.
But to procede further in my matter/
I wyl not greatly speake muche of the
churche, by the reason, that manye o-
ther men sins my first writinge hathe
declared this article, moch better tha
I can do it. Wherfore I wyll alonly re
syte the places of holy doctoures) that
I brought for me in my fyrst boke and
the intent wherfore I alleged them. to
proue that the churche was a fre thing
thorowout al the worlde and not boũd
eyther to place or to person.
I brought for me the saiynge of sainte
Augustine saying these wordes.
The holy churche are we . But I
do not saye are we as one shulde saye
we that be here alonelye, that here me
nowe but as manye as ben here fayth-
full christen men in this churche, that
is to saye in this citie, as many as ben
in this region, as manye as be beyond
the sea. as manye as be in al the hoolle
worlde (for frome the ryssynge of the
sonne. tyll the goynge downe is the
name of God prayesed. So is the holye

Aug sermo
lxxxix de ti
pore

churche our mother. &c

Also Lira saith. The churche doth not stande in men, by the reason of spirituall power, or seculer dignitie, For many prynces, and manye popes, and other inferior persones, haue swerued from the faith. Wherfore the church doth stand in those persones, in whome the true knowlenge, and confession of faith. and of verite. &c.

Lyra. in mat 28. xix

Here Lyra sayth as moche as I do, in eiere wordes. And M. Moore dothe not, nor yet can cefell hym. Afterward I bryng a sayenge of S. Augustine, to proue, that the churche hath spottes, and wryncles in her: And yet by confessynge of them, and by stychynge to Christes bloude, they be not imputed vnto her. This is his sayenge,

De verb. dñi. ser. xxix

The holle churche prayeth, Lorde forgyue vs our synnes. wherfore she hath spottes, and wryncles. But by knowledgynge of them, her wryncles ben stretched out, and by knowledgynge, here spottes are washed away. The churche continueth in prayer, that she myghte be clensed by knowledgyng of her synnes. And as longe as we here lyue, so standeth it. And whā euery man departeth out of this body

al

al suche synnes are forgyuen hym, the which ought to be forgyuen. For thei be forgyuen by dayly prayer, and he goth hence clensed. And the churche of God is layde vp in the treasure of God, for pure golde, and by this meãe, the churche of God is in the treasure of our lorde/without spotte or wrynkell. Sequitur. Let vs therfore pray, that God may forgyue vs, and that we may forgyue our dettours/seyng it is sayde, And it shall be forgyuen vnto you. we saye this dayly, and dayly we do this/and this thyng is done dayly in vs, we are not here without synne. But we shall departe hens without synne &c. Let euery mã iudge, whether that this place of saynt Augustyne, maketh for my purpose, or not, that is to saye/whether that the church hath any spottes or wrynckles in her, or not. And yet neuertheles, she hath no spottes/nor wrynckles. For S. Augustyne sayth/that the churche of God is in ꝑ treasour of god/without any spotte so that through Gods mercy, nothyng is imputed vnto her. Her clennes is not, ꝑ she hath no spottes, but because, ꝑ for Christis sake, there is nothinge layde to her charge. Mayster Moꝛe

ma-

maketh many wordes of venial synnes and deedly synnes But to speake after his owne schole men. it shulde be hard for hym to defend, that exposition that he here maketh of sayut Augustyn. But to proue, that the churche is clene, by ꝑ reason of Christ I brought for me their owne lawe, whose wordes be these. Therfore is the churche holy because she beleueth tyghtuously in God. &c. Furthermore to proue, that this congregacion of kaythfull men, is the church ꝑ can not erre, I brought for me their owne lawe whose wordes be these The holie churche can not erre. &c. Also in an other place. The congregacio of kaythfull men muste nedes be. whiche also can not erre. &c. So that it is cler firste, ꝑ ther muste nedes be a cogregacion of kaythful men, whiche be neither bounde to Rome, nor to Hierusalem nor yet to any certain place. but it is spred abrode throughout the ꝑ hole worlde & standeth in the vnite of kaythful christen men. And that is the churche, ꝑ God suffereth not to erre in those thinges, that belonge to saluacion. where, fore I dyd saye in my other boke, that popes counsels were not ꝑ church that could not erre for to the most part those

coun

counsels dyd not order them selues af-
ter Gods worde. Wherfore I sayde,
they myght well erre. And for that cause
a priuate person, hauyng scripture for
hym, ought to be preferred afore a hole
cõsell, yf they had no scripture, For
Gods worde, ought to be iudge ouer al
counseles, and to proue this I brought
for me the sayeng of Panormitanus
which sayth The councll may erre/ The counsell
as it hath erred, cõcernyng ỹ contracte of Weldens
of matrymonye inter Raptorem & Rap- dyd erre.
tam, And the sayenge of S. Hierom, was
afterwarde preferred aboue ỹ statutes of
the cõsell, as it is proued. xxvi. quest
ii Tria, For in thinges concernynge
the fayth, the saying of a priuate per-
son is to be preferred afore the sayinge
of the Pope yf he haue better reasons
and scriptures of the newe, and olde te
stament for hym then the pope hath.
Neither it can helpe to saye that the
counsell can not erre bicause that Chri
ste dyd pray that ỹ fayth of the chur-
che shulde not fayle For I answere to
this that though the general counsel do
represent the hole vniuersal church yet
neuertheles in very deed there is not ỹ
vniuersal church but representatiue.
for ỹ vniuersal church standeth i ỹ elec
tiõ of

of all faithfull men, thoroughoute the hole worlde, whose head and spouse is christ Jesus, And the pope is but the vycar of christ and not the veryehead of ỳ churche, This is the church that can not erre.&c, Here saith this doctor that same sentence of the church, that I laide. I broughte also for the same purpose, the sayinge of Augustine who se words be these. Those councels, that be gathered in euery prouince, must without doubte/gyue place to the auctorite of the ful counsels, which be gathered of al christendome. And also those full councels, oftentimes, must be amended by the full councelles, that come after warde. yf anye thinge be opened by experience, that was afore shut. And yf anye thynge be knowne, that was afore hydden. And this muste be done withoute any shadow of superstitious pride, without any bosted arrogancie, withoute anye contention of malycious enuy, but with holy mekenes, with holy peace/and with christe charitie.&c. Here saint Augustyn saith plainely ỳ the ful councels may erre, & maye be reformed. After this I dyd declare/how a man shulde knowe thys church, and by what signes and toke-

Au. de Bapti. li. ii. ca. iiii.

The full councels may erre.

How a man maye know the churche

and

and sayde, that where as the worde of God was purely, and syncerelye preached, and the sacramentes orderly ministered, after the blessed ordinance of Christe, And where as men dyd pacyently suffre for the veritie, and the heretes dyd applye theyr lyuynge to christes doctryne, and with meekenes receyued ye holy sacramentes. These I said were goode, and perfyte tokens to iuge vpon, that there were certaine membres of Christes churche. And to proue this, I brought saint Augustine, saying Our holy mother the church, through all the worlde scattered farre & wyde. in her true head Christe taught, hathe learned not to fear the contumelies of the crosse, nor yet of deth. But more, & more, is she strengthened, not in resistinge, but in sufferinge. Also Chrisostomes wordes be these. They that be in Judea, let them flee vp to the mountaynes, that is to say, they that be in christendome, let them gyue them selues to scriptures. Wherfore commaunded he that all christen men, in ye tyme, wulde flee vnto scriptures, For in that tyme in the whiche, heresies haue optayned into the churche, there can be no true probacion of christendom, nor no other

The Church suffereth

Christ. in ope imperfecto

refuge vnto Christen men, wyllynge to knowe the veritie of faith, but the scriptures of god. Afore by manye wayes was it shewed, whiche was the churche of Christ, and whiche was the congregacion of the Gentyles. But nowe, there is none other way to them that wyll knowe, which is the very true churche of Christe, but alonelye by scriptures. By workes, firste was the churche of christe knowen, whan congregation of christen men, either of all, or of many were holy, the which holines had not the wicked men. But now christen men be as yuell, or worse, than heretikes or gentiles: yea, and greater continencye is founde amonge them, than christen man. Wherefore he that wyll knowe, whiche is the very church of Christe, howe shall he knowe, but by scriptures onely? And therfore our lorde commaundeth hym, that so great confusion of thynges shulde come in the latter dayes, for that cause commaundeth he, that christen men, wyllyng to reserue the stedfastnes of true faythe, shulde flee vnto none other thynge, but vnto scriptures. For yf they have respecte vnto other thynges, they shal be slaundered, & shall perysshe, not vnderstandynge,

By scripture me may knowe the veritie

dynge, whiche is the true churche. &c
Mayster More hath no great thynge in
this poynt agaynst me, saynge, ꝓ he
saythe, these saynge is none of Christ.
but of a nother man wrytē in Christes
name. Neuertheles, I let it passe, let
other mē iudge betwen vs bothe. After-
warde, bicause that I sawe so great
persecucion vsed by the popes churche
agaynst all maner of sortes of good mē,
whom maist. More calleth heretikes,
more for his pleasure, than for theyr de
seruynge. For this cause, I saye, I brou-
ghte a sayinge of Hilarius, to proue,
that they, that dyd execute such tyran
nye, were more to be compared, to the
Arrians, than to Christis churche, his
sayinge is this.

Hila contra Arrianos.

The churche dothe threaten with bani
shementes, and imprisonmentes, & she
compelleth men to beleue her, whiche
was exyled, & cast in prisone. She han-
geth on the dignitie of her holyshyp, the
whiche was consecrated by the threa-
tynges of persecutours. She causeth
preestes to flee, that was encreased by
the chasynge away of preests. She
gloryeth, ꝓ she is loued of the world the
whiche coulde neuer be Christes, excep
te ꝓ world dyd hate her. &c. After this

I brought a saying of S. Barnarde, to proue, that the name of spiritual aray & gorgious apparel, that is vsed in the popes churche, dyd not make the churche. His sayinge is this.

They be the ministers of Christe, but they serue Antichrist, they go gorgiously arrayed/of our lordes goodes, but whom they gyue no honour. And of these commeth the deckynge of harlottes, that thou seist daylye. The gamе players/disguysyng, and kynges apparell. Of this commeth golde in theyr bridels, in their sadels, & in their spurres. So that their spurres be brighter than the aulters. Of this commethe their plentuous wyne presses, & their full sellers, volkynge from this vnto that. Of this commeth their tonnes of swete wynes. Of this be theyr bagges so tylled. For suche thinges, as these be wyll they be rulers of the churche. As Deacons, archdeacons, byshops, & archbyshops. &c.

Men may make an exposition of saint Barnarde, but it wyl be hard to frame hym to theyr purpose. But for a conclusion, mast. More, and I, do vary but in this poynt, that he sayth he, the very church of god standeth by them, that

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be good, and badde. And I say, that the true churche of Christ, standeth in the onely, that be good mē. For the kyngedome of christe, is distincted in verye dede, from the kyngdome of the deuyl For yuell men be doubtles the mēbres of the deuyll, as Paule saythe. Epy. ii Also our mayster christe saythe, vnto ỹ phariseis, you are of youre father the deuyll, Wherfore it can not stand with no lernyng, that wicked men, which be the membres of ỹ deuil, & be gouerned by him can be mēbres of christes body thoughe that in this present life they be not yet so declared vnto the worlde. God sende vs all his holy churche, and membres of his blessed sonne christ Iesus.

¶ Frewyll of man, after the falle of Adam, of his naturall strengthe, can do nothinge but sin afore god.

IN this article wilwe not dispute, what mā may do by the comme n influence giuen him of God, ouer these inferior, and worldly thinges, as what power he hath in eatynge, and drinkinge in sleaping, and speakinge in byenge & sellinge, and in al other suche natural thinges, that be giuen of god, indifferently to al men. both to good, and bad But here will we serch, what strength is in man, of his naturall power, without the spirite of god, for to wil, or to do those thinges, that be acceptable afore god, vnto the fulfillinge of the wil of god, as to beleue in god, to loue God after his commaundementes, to loue iustice for it selfe, to take god for hys father, to recken hym to be mercyfull vnto hym, to feare god louingly, with al other thinges, that men do cal good workes this is the thyng/that we wil serche to knowe.

In what thinges we haue frewil & in what no ne-

Nowe, that he can do nothing in these

causes

cause s, by his free will, oure maister
Christe proueth it in these wordes. He
that abydeth in me, & I in hī, bringeth
forthe moche frute, for without me, cā Johan, xv.
you do nothing, yf a man abyde not in
me/he is cast out as a braunch/ and he
shal burne. Here it is open, that frewil
without grace can do nothinge. I doo The frutes
not speake of eatynge, and drinkynge of fre wyl.
(though that be of grace) but nothing
that is frutefull, that is meritorious,
that is worthye of thanke / that is ac=
ceptable afore god. For he that hathe
not Christ in hym, is cast oute, this is
the fyrst frute of frewyll, than wyd=
dereth he, that is the second frut, this
wydderinge helpeth him nothynge to
goodnes, he must widdre let him doo
his best, than is he gathered and caste
into the fier, this is the thyrd frute.
what can be in the fyre doo, nothynge Bona inten
but burne. He can not lye there as a cio
thyng indifferent, but he must neades
burne, and he can not come out of the
fyer by his owne strength, let him in=
tende alwaye as he can, his contēciō
can not helpe hym, nor yet forther him
So that all the mighte of frewyl whā
he is lefte aloue, is nothinge elles but
first to be cast oute, and seconde to
widder

wydder, so decayeth he, thyrdly, to be cast into the fyer, All this is worse, & worse Finally, he burneth this is worst of al, for here is he pasle helpe, so þ this is þ stregthþ frewil hath to bryng hym self to vtter destruccio Now wher wyl our Duns men bringe in theyr bonum conatum, thei are so long in bringing of it in, that frewyll is brought to the fyer, and there can he neyther saue him selfe from burnyng nor yet helpe hym selfe out But to this my lord of Rochester answereth in a certayne place, that frewyl can do no good meritorious, sed tamen non oio facit nihil. what is this to saye, but nihil yf he do no good that is meritorious nor worthy of thanke afore God I pray you what doth he but nihil. Our disputacion is what goodnes that he can do without grace & yau graunt that he can do no goodnes and yet you saye that he can do, sonthynge But let vs se howe s. Aug vnderstandeth this texte of s. Jo. Lest any man should suppose that the braunche of him selfe could bryng forth at the lest ways a lytle frute therfore sayth he not without me can you do a lytle but without me can you do nothyng therfore whether it be little or much, without him can

Sup. Joh. tract. lxxxi.

can do nothyng but thynke after god
can it not be done, wout whom is nothig done, Dne of two thynges, must ꝑ dra̅ the nedes do, eyther abyde in the vine. or ells burne in the fyre, yf it be not in the vine, than is it in the fyre. ꝛc. My lorde, where wyl you bryng i here your somthyng that freewyll doth. S. Augustyn sayth without grace can free wyll do, neytherlytle nor moche. For yf she be not in Christ, she burneth in the fire Call you ꝑ somwhat where be now M. Dules m̄ with their bon̄ conatu̅ bon̄ studiu̅ applicacion̄ ad bon̄ here must they nedes lye in the fyre with all their good intentes, with their good prepara tions, and they⁹ holy disposicions also
i. cor. iii
saynt Paule, we are not sufficiente, to thynke any thyng of oure selfe, as it were of our self, but our sufficiency, is of god, what is this? that we are not a ble to think any thing of our self what can be a smaller thing, than to thynke & yet this small thing can we not doo, It is also open, that s. Paule meaneth not of the thynking that cōmeth by na turall power for that God doth be not let but letteth it procede, after his first ordinaunce, as we haue op̄e experience in infidels. But here he speaketh of suche a thynking as is acceptable and
thanke

thankefull afore god, and therfore fo-
loweth it. God hath made vs worthye
ministers of the newe testament. Here
is it open, that he speaketh of that thi
kynge, that is a synguler, and a spec-
all gift of god, and not of the commen
gifte of nature, for that were nothyng
to the ministracion of the gospell. But
let vs se what s. barnard sayth, of this
texte. What shall we say/is this alon
ly all the merit of frewil, that he doth
alonely consent. ye doubtles. Not that
that same consent, in the which is all
his merit, is not of god, whan that we
can neither thinke, the which is lesse,
than to consent, any thynge of our sel-
ues as though we wer sufficiēt of our
selues these words be not myne, but ꝑ
apostles, the whiche gyueth vnto god/
& not to his frewyll, al maner thynges
that can be good/ ꝑ is to say, to thinke
to wyll or to perfourme. &c,

Barnarde lib. arbit

Here you not, that all thynges that
can be good sayut Barnarde gyueth
to god. Nowe what strength hath fre-
wyll be can neyther thynke good, nor
wyl nor yet perfourme it. what remai
neth. I knowe nothynge but eyther it
is included in thinking, in willing or in
perfomyng, & al these be gyuen to god

Also

can do nothyng but synne afore god
Also our Mayster christ sayth. Shall men gather grapes of thornes, or fygges of bramble bussches. An euyll tree can bringe forth no good frute. What meaneth our maister, whan he sayth, that grapes be not gathered of thornes nothing els, but that the frute must be lyk the nature of the tre. And therfore sayth he/an euyl tree, can not bringe forth good frute. Now, can you not denye, but that frewyll without grace, is an euyl tree, ergo his frute must nedes be euyll, he may well bryng forthe frute but it shall not be good. Is not all frewyls power declared in these wordes, he can not . I praye you what meaneth our Mayster Christe in these wordes, he can not. Christe sayd. he cannot and wyll you say, he can. Also our M. saith. you adders birdes howe can you speake good thinges/ seyng that you be yuel. Hadde not these men frewyl and yet sayth our maister they coulde not speake good thinges, you recken it but a small power, to speake good and yet as smal as it is frewyll cannot do it. he maye well speak but it shall not be good. For how shuld he speake good / that is euyll of hym selfe, howe shoulde he doo good that knowethe noo good , but is the

very enemy of goodnes, yea & almoche as lyeth in hym, he wolde there were no goodnes. you haue also a common principle/there is nothyng loued and desyred/but that/that is knowen.

Now, how shoulde frewyll flee frome synne, and desyre goodnes, and he knoweth not, whiche is very synne/& whiche not. As s. Paule sayth, by the lawe is the knoweledge of synne. So blynde is frewyl that he knoweth not synne to be synne. nor vertu to be vertue but iudgeth that thinge to be good that is cuyll, & that thing that is cuyl, to be good, for he is lost and hath no true iugement, As s. Augustyne sayth what goodnes can he do/that is lofte except that he be delyuered from his misery. Can he do any good by hys frewyl. God forbyd for man cuyll vsynge hys free wyll, dyd both lose hym selfe, and also his frewyll/and as man beyng alyue doth kyll hym selfe, and whan he hath kylled hym selfe, he can not make hym selfe alyue agayne. Holykewise, whan we do synne by frewyll/ and sin hath the victorye, than is frewil cleue lost for of whom a man is ouercome, vn to hym must he be seruaunt. Doubtles this sentence is of Peter the apostle, p

Rom. vii.

whiche

can do nothing but synne afore god
whereby seing that it is, true I praye
you what maner of fredome cā a bond
seruannt haue. excepte it be, whan is
pleaseth hym to synne. &c. what can be
sayd to this doth he not clerely say, ỹ
man hath lost his frewyll by synne. ỹ
can no more do vnto goodnes, than a
ded man can do, to make hym selfe a-
liue againe. yea he can do nothing but
delight in sinne, Cal you that a fredom
cal you that bonum conatum, call you
that a preparing to grace. Saint Augu
stine doth declare, what goodnes that
frewil deserueth, without grace saing
o cursed frewyll without god we haue
experience what frewill can do with-
out god. therfore are we miserable, bi
cause we haue experience, what frewil
is able to do without God. Beholde
man was made good and by his frewil
was he made an euil man, Whan shall
an euil man. by his frewil, forsakinge
god make a man good be beinge good
couldе, not kepe hym selfe good, and
nowe that he is euyl shal he make him
selfe good whan that he was good he
kept not hym selfe good and now that
he is euyl, shal he say I make mi selfe
good, &c. Here is the verie strength of
fre wil. by his strength are we made

Dr verbis is
po. serm. pl.

mise-

miserable, & that doth experience leerne, And yet we boste frewyll: S. Aug. caleth it cursed frewyll, and wyll we call it blessed frewyll. Is not this a goodly freedome, and great power, to bryng vs to this euerlasting miserie. This is our bonum tonatum, & facere qđ in se est, preparare se ad gratiam, with other dãpnable dremes, that we haue, whose conclusions are nothing els, but to bryng vs to dampnation. you se S. Au, wordes be so playn, that no mã can auoyde thẽ. Also S. Ꝑ. sayth, The wysdome of that fleshe, is enemy to god, it is not subiect vnto the lawe, nor can be, for they that serue the fleshe, can not please God. And he ꝑhath not ꝑ spirit of Christ, ꝑ same mã is none of his, for ꝑ self spirit bereth wytnes to our spirite, that we be the chyldren of God. Here haue you playnly, ꝑ the wysedome of the fleshe, is very enemy agaynst God. it can not be sayd, but by wisedom, we vnderstandeth the best thyng, that is in man, for better than wysdom, can there nothing be, and yet that is enemye to God, for it is but fleshe, and all that is in man, without the spirite of God, and that S. paule declareth, whan he sayth, he ꝑ hath not the spirite of Christ, the same man is not Christes.

Roma. viii.

can do nothing but synne afore god
Here is playne that wyll, reason wyt
dome hert, or what soeuer thyng / that
is in man (without the spirite of god)
is but flesshe and cannot be obedient
He sayth not he wyl not but he can=
not, he hath no myght / he hath no po=
wer let hym intende his best do al that
lyeth in hym / with al his myght, and
all his power / and yet can it not please
god, for it is al but flesshe. But here
M. Duns wyll make a distinction, &
say that flesh is taken here for fleshly
desirs only & voluptuousnes & not for
the desyres of the soule / nor for the e=
lection of the wil. I wold know what
part it is / that desireth or ꝑ coueteth
this voluptuousnes. It is not the bo=
nes, nor the synewes, nor the flesshe
that hangeth theron, but it is the hy=
est part of man, the very soule of man,
he is the ground, & auctor of al concu
piscens take awaye hym, and there re
mayneth no voluptuousnes.
Therfore S. paule declareth hym, & his
operation, whā he calleth it ꝑ wisdom
of ꝑ flesshe. But I wolde gladly knowe
what he vnderstandeth, by vnclene de=
syres, & by voluptousnes. If he vnder=
stande, euyll cogitacions, as adultrye
fornication, manslaughter, theft,
couetousnes / disceyte, vnclennes,
blas=

blasphemy, pryde, and folysshenes. The
call thele voluptuousnes, these be thei
that come from the hert of man, and be
chosen by the electiō of the wyl as our
M. Christe doth clerely declare. Mare
wit, yea. and that from the very bottom
of ỳ herte,

Mar. vii.

Can they inuent any other vnclenlyde
stres than these & these come not frō the
bones nor from the synowes but from
the very grounde of the hert and these
be al his delyzes & other hath he none
of himselfe wherfor these dremers dre
me they wote not what, and speak that
they vnderstande not. for all that is in
man. herte, soule, flesshe, & bone, &c.
with all theyr workes is but flesshe, ex
cepte the spirit of God be there. Euery
man hath a soule, but by that is he not
Christes, for thā infidles were Christes
but the spirite of Christ, maketh hym
Christes and the spirite of god gyueth
wytnes to our spirite, that we be the
chyldren of God. Our spirit gyueth no
wytnes to hym selfe, ỳ he is Christes.
for than were the spirite of God frust-
rate. Wherfore let our spirite entēde as
well as he can, studye his beste. applye
hym selfe to goodnes, after the vttet
moste of his power, & yet is it but wyse

dome

dome of the flesshe, and hath no wyt-
nes of god, yea, it is but an enemy. and
it must nedes be synne. For s. Augustin
sayth, He that fedeth without me, fe-
deth against me. &c. Marke howe he
sayth he, against me. wherfore al that fre
wyll can do without grace, is but syn
Marke also that paule dyd, wryte vn-
to the iewes, yea, & to the best of them,
whiche dyd studye to do good workes
yea, & þ best workes, þ were þ works
of the lawe, and yet all these he calleth
but flesshe, and declareth openlye, that
all these good workes coulde not helpe
them, and yet no doubte, but that the ie
wes dyd as muche as laye in their fre-
wyl to do, to come to the fauour of god
& yet it helpt not, for all was but wyse
dome of the flesshe, and enemye to god
Also s. Paule sayth, yf you mortifye þ
dedes of the flesshe, by the spirite, you
shall lyue, you wyll not reken that s.
Paule doth iudge the spirite of god ne
cessary, to kyll the desires of the flesh,
that is of the synowes, or of the bones,
or of any other thinge, that is in man,
beside the spirite of man, for that were
but a small thynge. yea it were but fru-
strate to set the spirite of god to kylle
these thynges, for the spirite of man cã
kyll them. yea, and also rule them. For

M. after

after your own phylosophers, ỹ spirit of man, is the ruler, and the gyder of all the workes, that be done by the body, wherfore the spirite of god muste be he, that shall kylle ỹ disease of our spirite, ỹ which is the moste spirituall thing in vs, and yet is but flesshe afore, God. For yf there were any power in hym, hye, or lowe, to kyll his desyres, than were it but voyde, to call the spirite of God to helpe. But let vs here what S. Augustine sayth, on this texte, yf you mortifie you flesshe. &c. Thou wylte say, that can my wyll do, that can my frewyll do. what wylle what maner of frewyll. except that he guyde the, thou falleste, except he lifte the vp, thou lyest styll.

Howe canste thou than do it by thy spirite, seinge that the apostle sayth/ As many as be ledde by the spirite of god, be the children of God. wylte thou do of thy selfe. wylte thou be led of thyn owne selfe to mortifie the dedes of the flesshe. what wyll it profyte the, yf thou be not an Epicure, thou shalte be a Stoycke. wherher thou be an Epicure, or a Stoicus, thou shalte not be amonge ỹ childrē of god. For they ỹ be guided of ỹ spirite of god, be ỹ childrē of god, not

they

they, that lyue after theyr owne flesshe, not they, that lyue after theyr owne spirite, not they, that be ledde of theyr owne spirite, but as many as be ledde of the spirite of God, they be ꝑ chyldrē of God. But here a man wyl saye, Ergo than are we ruled, and we do not rule, I answere. Thou bothe ruleſt, and arte ruled, but than doſt thou well rule yf thou be ruled of the good spirite. Sequit Utterly, yf thou wante the spirite of God, thou canſte do no good, thou doſt truely without his helpe, by thy frewil but it is but cuyl done. Unto that is thy wyll apte, whi he is called free, and by cuyll doynge, is she made a dampnable bonde seruant. whan I say, without ꝑ helpe of God, thou doſte nothynge, I vnderſtande by it, no good thyng, for to do cuyll, thou haſt frewyll, without the helpe of God, thoughe that be no freedome. Sequitur. wherfore you ſhall knowe, that so do you goodurs, yf the helper spirite be your guyder, ꝑ which yf it be absent, ye can do no good at all. ℟. Me thinke this sayinge is sufficiēt, yf men wolde beleue S. Auguſt. Marke, howe he sayth, without the spirit of God, we lye in synne, let our spirite do the beſte he can.

who are the chyldren of gode

without the spirit of god we cā do no good thyng

For they be not the chyldren of God, that lyue after their owne spirite, hare guyded after their own spirit. but after the spirit of God. For our spirite can do no good at all, but euyll, yf the spirit do not lead hym. where is nowe our do num studium, our bonus conatus, & applicatio ad bonum? For our spirite can do nothynge but yuell, and is of hym selfe, but a damnable seruant. What good can a dampnable seruaunt doo of hym selfe. So that here it is openly proued, that the frewill of man, of his owne strength and of his own power can do nothynge but synne.

Bonus conatus virtū de congruo

But nowe commeth the dampnable reason, and fleshly wisedome, and will dispute, and saye: yf our frewyll can do no goodnes, what nede god to commaunde so many good thinges. what nede God to gyue those commaundementes, that hy knoweth well be impossible for vs. And if they be impossible, what righte is in hym, that dampneth vs for that thynge, that is impossible for vs to do I aunswere. O thou blynde, presumptuous, and dampnable reason, where hast thou learned of any other creature, to enquere a cause of thy makers wyll, or els to murmour, against the ordinace

of

of thy lyuinge god / what hast thou to do to require a cause of his actes, he hath made the without thy consente, & cõsel & may he not set lawes, & cõmaundementes to rule the by, at his pleasure. without thy counsell, thou art worthy of none aunswere, thou arte so presumptuous, nor there is no goddly answer that wyll satisfye the. Neuertheles. I wyll stoppe thy blasphemynge mouthe by thyne owne wysedome, to thy great shame. Fyrst, this thinge must ỹ graunt me that thy god is Essenciall goodnes, and is nothing but goodnes. Wherfore he can commaunde nothinge, but that is good, iuste, and righteous, whiche thinges, yf thou do not, or be not able to do thy maker may not let his goodnes vndone, because of thy naughtynes or for thyne vnablenes. And yf thou be not able to do those good thinges, that he commaundeth the, there is no faute in the commaunder, nor yet in the commaundementes. wherefore than doeste thou grudge against hym, without a cause. But yet wylt thou murmoure, & saye how that he knoweth, howe they be impossible for the. Truth that is, he knoweth it. Than wylt thou say, wherfore doth he commaunde them to me.

O thou

O thou presūptuous creature, it were sufficiently aunswered to the to saye. that it is his pleasure, so to commaund what couldest thou saye moze. what occasion haddest thou to murmour. What wronge hast thou. But I wyll go forther, thy maker knoweth, ꝑ they be impossible for the. he knoweth also thy dampnable & presumptuous pryde that rekenest how thou canst do al thi ges that be good, of thyn owu strēgth without any other helpe. And to subdue this presumptuous pryde of thyn, and to bryng the to knowelege of thin owne selfe, he hath gyuen the his commaundementes, of the whiche thou canst not complayne, for they be both righteous, and good. And yf thou complayne, because they be impossible for the, than consider thy dāpnable pryde that thoughtest thy selfe so stronge, that thou couldest do al goodnes. But what wylt thou nowe do, these commaundementes be gyuen, and can not, nor shal not be chaūged, to satisfy thy presūptuous pryde. wherof wylt ꝑ now cōplayn, gods cōmaūdemēts be resonable. they be good they be righteous, & they be laudable shal al these thynges be destroyed, to satisfy thy pryde

naye

can do nothing but synne before God
nayes not, so. But thou shalte rather re-
mayne, with all thy pryde, vnder the
dampnacion of these commaundemētes
what sayst thou therto. Canst thou an-
oyde this. Canst thou saye, but this is
tyghte. Canst thou saue thy selfe from
daunger. Canste thou auoyde thy dāp-
nacion, by all thy carnall wysedome.
Nay verely. For he that is thy aduer-
sary is omnipotent. wherfore say what
thou wylte, so muste it be, for it is gods
ordinance, whiche may not be chaun-
ged. But nowe wylt thou aske what
remedy. no remedy but this only, to con
fesse thy weykenes, to confesse thy pryd
to knowlege thy vnablenes, to graunt
that these commaundementes be lawful
holy, and good, & howe thou arte bounde
to kepe them, & to gyue laude, & prayse
to God for them, and to go to thy mer-
cyfull maker with this confession, and
to desyre hym, that he wyll helpe the
that he wyll be mercyfull vnto ỹ, that
he wyll strengthen the, for thou arte to
weyke, that he wyl gyue the his spirite
for thy spirite is to fleshly, to fulfyll
these spirituall commaundementes, and
doubte thou not, but thou shalte fynde
hym both mercyfull, and also gracyous,
for he gaue the these

com

commaundementes for that intente, secretely declaringe, both thy pryde, and also thy wekenes, that thou myghteste seke, and cal vnto hym for helpe.

de temp. ser. 121.

This doth saint Augustine declare wel in these words. yt mā do perceyue, that in the commaundementes, is any thing impossible / or elles to hard, let him not remayne in hymselfe / but let hym run vnto god, his helper, the whiche hathe gyuen his commaundementes for that intent, that our desyre might be stirred vp, and that he myght gyue helpe. &c.

Marke. Augustyne sayth / that the cōmaundementes be impossible onto our strengthe, but we muste call to god for strength. The Pelagians didde reckon, that they had got a great victory, whan they had made this carnal reason / that god woide commaunde nothynge that was impossible, of this reason dyd they glorye, and triumph, and thought that they muste nedes haue some naturall strength, and power to fulfyll the commaundements of god, seing þ god wold cōmaund nothing impossible to man. Of this same reason doth my lorde of Rochest. & al his scolers glorye vnto this same day. But let vs se how S. Augustin aunswereth them. The Pelagyans sayth

(sayth he) thynke/that they knowe a wonders thynge, whan they say, God wyll not commaunde that thyng, the whiche he knoweth is impossible for man to do. Euery man knoweth this, but therfore doth he commaunde certeyne, thynges, that we can not do, bicause we might knowe, what thyng we oughte to aske of hym. Fayth is she, whiche by prayer, obtayneth ỹ thyng, that the lawe commaundeth. Briefely, he that sayth, If thou wylte, thou mayst kepe my commaundemẽtes In the same boke, a lytle after sayth he, He shal gyue me keppyng in my mouth Playne it is, ỹ we may kepe the commaundementes/if we wyl, but bicause our wyll is prepared of God, of hym it must be asked, that we may so mouch wyll, as wyll suffice vs to do them. Trouthe it is, that we wyll, whan we wyll, but he maketh vs to wyll that thyng, that is good. &c.

Dell. 4th cap. xvi.

Eccle. xii.

Godes commaundementes be impossyble to mennatures.

Here haue you playne, that my lord of Rochesters opinion, & the Pelagians, is all one, for they both do agre, ỹ the commaundementes of God, be not impossible to our naturall strength. But S. Augustyne sayth, they be impossible And therfore he they gyuen, that we

thuld know our wekenes, and also ask strengthe to fulfil them:

Where of our good will cõmyth.

For faith bi praier doth obteine strength, to fulfyl, the impossible cõmaundementes of the lawe. Here haue you also, that god moueth vs, and causeth vs to be good wyllers, and gyueth vs a good wyll/ for elles we wouldе neuer wyl, but euyl. Here is also to be noted,

De congruo

that the Pelagions, & our Dunsmen, agre all in one, for they both saye, that the grace of god doth helpe mans good purpose, so that man doth fyrst inlēde and purpose wel. And as Duns saythe disposeth him selfe by attricion to receyue grace, and than God doth helpe him. But the trouth is contrarye, for ther is no good purpose in mā, no good dispocion, nor good intent, but al is a gaynst goodnes, & cleue cōtrary against all thinge, that agreeth with grace til that God of his mere mercy commeth and gyueth grace, & chaungeth a mans wyl vnto grace, and gyueth him wyll, to wyl goodnes, yea, and that whan he thought nothing of goodnes, but doth clerely resist al goodnes. Thys doth the

d bonifilb cap. ix.

s. Augustyne proue in these wordes. The Pelagions saye, that they graunt howe that grace doth helpe euery mās good purpose, but not that he gyueth

ueth

that loue of vertue to hym, that stryeth against it. This thinge do they say/as though man of hym self, without the helpe of god, hath a good purpose, and a good mynde vnto vertu, by the whiche merite precedyng afore, he is worthy to be holpen of the grace of god, that folowyth after. Doubtles the grace that folowyth, doth help the good purpose of man, but the good purpose should neuer haue ben, if grace had not preceded. And though that the good study of man, whan it beginneth is holpen of grace, yet dydde it neuer begyn without grace. &c.

gians saithe that god gyueth good lawes, & mā maykepethe of his natural strength or els the cō maundemētes were frustrate

Here it is open, that the Pelagions graunt as mothe of grace, as my lorde of Rochester dothe, and all his Dunsmen/whiche learneth, that man maye haue a good purpose. bonum studium, and a good mynde, and a loue to grace, of hys owne naturall strength, the pelagions graunt euen the same,

But here you se, howe saynt Augustin is cleare against them.

iiii. lente di: xiiii. quest ii.

But nowe lette vs here Mayster Dunses wordes.

A synner may by the natural. & by ꝑ cō men influence of god, cōsider his sines as a thyng, that hath offended god, and as a thynge contrarye to the lawe of

god

of god, and letteth hym from rewarde, and bryngeth hym to payn, and by this meanes may be hate, and abhorre hys synne, this calleth he attrition, whereby there is a disposition (sayth he) or a merite in a man of congruence, to take awaye mortal synne, and this attrition is sufficient for a man, that shal receiue the sacramentes, & quod non ponat obicem (that is, that he haue no mortall synne actually in his will, this is sufficient, and also a necessarye waye to receiue grace. &c.

This is tenne tymes worse than the pelagians sayinges, for they graunt, that man must nedes haue a speciall grace, to perfourme his good purpose. And M. Duns saith, that man may perform his attritiō. of his naturall power. yea and this attrition of congruence, is a disposition to take away mortall synne without any spetcial grace. I praye you maister Duns, of what congruence is it. what hath attrition deserued. that mortal synne shulde be taken awaye for his pleasur, what hath he deserued that grace must folow hym. Infidelles may haue this attrition, for ye graunt that it commeth of natural strength, and yet shall it not folowe of congruence that

they

they muste receyue grace, and also remission of their sinnes. Also had not Judas this attrition, whan he sayde, I haue synned, and was sorye for hys synne, and also repented it and knewe wel, that he had offended god and also deserued payne and was no more wyllinge (I thinke) so to do, and had all ỹ properties, that belongeth to your attrition, and yet se howe he did deserue of congruence grace, and remyssion of his sinnes. yea did not this attrition bringe him to extreme disperacion.

How cā a man without a special grace abhorre his sinne.

It is not possible, but he muste loue synne, so longe as he is the enemye of God, ye he wolde there were no God, to punysshe synne, suche a pleasure hath he vnto synne. This is ỹ nature of our hertes, and that doth euery one of vs fele, thoughe these men teacheth ỹ contrary, but I say to them the wordes of the prophete, redite ad cor prevaricatores, grope in your bosoms, and there synde you the mortall enemye of God, whiche neyther careth for gods displesure nor yet for his synne. And you say that he mai haue a good attrition of his naturall strengthe and yf this attrition

trition be good, than may he do good afore grace, so that we shal gather grapes of thornes, & figges of brieres. But what saith S. P, to your good attrition He saith that all thing without faith is nothynge. Is not this, man a fleshely man/ & hath nothing of the spirit of God (for by your owne learnynge, he hath but the common influence) & yet shal he, be sory, that he hathe offended god, Shal he abhorre his synne. Shal he depose hym selfe of congruence to grace. Sayne paule sayethe. The flesshe lusteth contrarye to the spirite. and the workes of the flesshe, be aduoutrye fornicacio, vnclennes, ydolatry, witchcrafte. hatred, wrath zele, sedicion, enuieng with suche other. I praye you, howe do these workes, agree with your attrition. Call you this abhorringe of synne. Cal you this heupnes or, offendyng of god, Be these good disposicios Be these oure good preparations, vnto god. Thinke you/ that these workes/ do deserue of congruence remission of mortal synne. These be the best workes that a synner hath in his hert, as elles S. Paul lieth, wherfore it is not possible, but he must haue in his all, actual syn, for he can wyl nothing but synne.

mor. fiiii.

And

And therfore, if he receiue the sacra-
mentes with this attricion, he recey-
ueth them to his dampnatiō. For afore
grace, he is an vtter enemy to god/and
to al his sacramentes, Wherfore god
must of his mere mercye, molifye hys
herte and gyue him grace to wyll good
nes, or elles he can neuer do it, nor yet
desire it. As S. Augustin doth declare
in these wordes. The grace whiche is
gyuen of the largnes of god, priuely e
into mens hertes, can not be dispised
of no maner of harde hertes. For ther-
fore it is gyuen that the hardnes of ꝑ
hert shulde be taken awaye wherfore
whan the father is herde within, and
doth learne that we must come to his
sonne. Than taketh he awaye oure sto-
ny hert and gyueth vs a fleshye herte.
And by this meanes, he maketh vs the
chyldren of promyse, and the vessailes
of mercy, whiche he hathe prepared to
glory. But wherfore doth he not lerne
all men to come to Christe. Bycause ꝑ
those that he lerneth he leueth of mer
cy & those that he lerneth not, of his
iudgement doth he not lerne them, &c.
Marke that saint Augustyne sayth,
That there is no hardnesof hert, that
can relist grace. And Duns saythe/
That there may be an obstinacie īmās

De gratia
cap. viii.

grace fleeth
our hertes
stonye

herte sayure Augustyne saythe, that grace fyndeth the herte in hardnes, & obstinacy. And Duns sayth, that there is a mollyfyenge, that precedeth grace which he calleth attricion. S. Augustine sayth, whan the father lerneth vs within, than taketh he away our stony hertes. And Duns sayth, that we can do it by the common naturall influence, that is, we cā dispose our selfe of congruence. Marke also, howe all men, be not taughte to come to Christ, but alonely they, that be taught, of mercy be taught: and yf it be of mercy, than it is not of cōgruence by attriciō Brevely, a greatter heresy, more contrary to Christe, and his blessed word, cā no man lerne, and yet muste he be taken for a great clerke, and a subtyle doctour, by cause he plealeth ꝑ flesshe. But shortely, here haue I openly proued by inuincible scriptures, and by doctours of great auctorite, that frewyll of his naturall strength, without a special grace, can do nothinge but abyde in sinne. Fraine, inuent, excogitate, and dreame as many holy purposes as we can, as many subtyll distinctions, as many good attricions, as manye good applicacions, and al they be but sinne

merituꝫ de congruo.

tyll grace come, yea our slepynge, our eatyng, our drinking, our almesses, our prayers, our synging, our tryngyng our confessing, our mumblynge, our mournyng, our waylyng. Brefely, al that we can do, is but hypocrisye, and double synne afore God, tyl the tyme, that he of his mercy choseth vs. For as he sayth, you haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you. Sine synne est placare deo

¶ Nowe wyl I declare a scripture or two, that men bringe to proue oure conatum, and oure bonum studium. The fyrst place is this. God, from the begynning dyd ordeyne man, and lefte him in the handes of his own counsel he dyd gyue hī his cōmaundementes & hys preceptes, yf thou wylte kepe the commaūdementes, and also kepe peasable fayth/for euer they shal kepe the I haue sette afore the, water, and fyre stretch thy hande to which thou wylt. Of this place is gathered, ỳ mā maye haue a good intente, a good mynde, to aplye hym selfe to God of his natural power. But this cannot proued at this texte. For there is neuer a worde of intendyng, of studyenge, or of applyenge wyl. For yf we wyl take the worde as the texte, as they sounde, they rather

prone, that we maye kepe the cõmaun-
demẽtes of God, yea, and also beleue in
God, thaū any other thyng, the which
I am sure, no man wyll graūte For
thaū howe coulde men auoyd, but that
the philosophers be saued For no man
can deny but that they dyd asmoch as
lay in theyr naturall power to come to
God Moreouer, the Pelagiars brig
this text, to proue, that mā may do good
of his naturall strength Nowe, howe
wyll we auoyde them for yf we deuye, þ
it proueth theyr opinion for the whiche
the wordes sounde moost thaū wyl they
deny, that it proueth our conatum, and
our bonum studium, of the whiche the
texte speaketh neuer a worde wherfore
this texte maketh neither for them, nor
yet for you Playne it is, that þ wordes
of the texte, sounde of kepyng, and of
beleuyng, yf we wyl, not of intending
nor of studiyng Wherfore it maketh not
for youre purpose But let vs go to the
texte, God from the beginnynge dyd
make man These wordes be open of the
creacion, of the fyrste man He lefte him
in the handes of his owne counsel
These wordes u aūe nothing for frewil
for here is nothinge commaunded hym
to do, but alonely here is signified that

eccle. xv

man

man is made lorde ouer al inferiour creatures, to vse them, at his pleasure, as yt
it is open. Genesis. ii. wher that al thinges were brought afore Adam, to receyue their names signifieng that they were all lefte vnto his vse, and to his wyll. and he was lorde ouer them al and none ouer him This was his kyngedome in the whiche he dyd reygne, and gouerne all thinges after his cõmaundementes but yet was it by the generall influence, gyuen by myght of god. He did adde his cõmaundementes, and his preceptes In these wordes is there no power gyuen vnto hym but here be gyuen hym commaundementes wherby he must be ordered, and ruled And not rule after his owne counsell but after the counsell and cõmaundemẽtes of god wherfore by these cõmaundementes was there part of his free domination and lordeshyp that he had ouer the inferiour thinges taken away, As where God commaunded him that he shulde not eate of the Tree of knowledge, bothe of good, and euyll

Wans lor

Wans de minio rest ynes.

Nowe was it not free for hym to vse this tree after his owne wyll but after the commaundemente of GOD and what powere he hadde by

by his frewyl, to kepe this cõmaunde
mente, the effecte dyd declare. If thou
wylte kepe the cõmaundementes, Her
beginneth the doubte. But yet of these
wordes cã you not gather, that he had
power to kepe them nor yet ỹ he might
intende to kepe them. For it foloweth
not, yf thou wylt, ergo, thou mayste, or
thou mayst intende. As it foloweth not
yf I wolde, ergo, I coulde depose you
for you wyl let this consequente. Also
you haue a general rule, Conditionalis nihil ponyt. Wherfore these wor-
des yf thou wylte kepe the cõmaunde
mentes, gyueth no power, nor strength
to frewyl. But this alonely foloweth
of this texte. yf man wil kepe the com-
maundementes, than they shal kepe hi
But now where shal he haue this wyl
that is not in his power. But loke of
saint Augustine aboue resited, & there
shal you fynde, howe man commeth by
this wyl. Also the wordes of the texte
be not, yf thou wylte thou mayst kepe
them or intend to kepe them. Nor they
be not. Man may kepe them, or intende
yf he wyl. But yf thou wylte kepe thẽ
thã they shal kepe the, wherfore of the
se wordes, can you not include any po-
wer in man. For it foloweth not, whã

God

augustꝰ de.
b. arb cap
i

god sayth do this here this, here that kepe this, kepe that, yf thou wylte do this, yf thou wylt do ꝑ, That we cā do these thynges, or can intende to do thē For god commaūdeth vs to do al good thynges, ergo, we be able of our natu= tall strengthe to do them. Than were the spirite of god frustrate, for the spi rite of god is not gyuen vs, to gyue cō maūdemētes but for to gyue vs strēgth to fulfyl, and ryghtously to vnderstād those thinges, that be commaunded vs By the cōmaundementes, is declared that thynge, that we oughte to do, and also they shewe our weykenes, and im= becilite, ꝑ we myght lerne to seke for a greatter strength, and greater helpe than is in vs. As s. Augustyne sayth in these wordes: The lawe was gyuen, ꝑ man myght fynde hym self, and not to make his sikenes hole/but by his p:ta chinge, the sickenes increased, the phi sicion myght be soughte. wherfore the law threteninge, and not fulfylling that thinge that he commaundeth, maketh a mā to be vnderneth him but the lawe is good yf a man do vse it wel. what is that, vse the lawe wel. By the lawe, to knowe oure syknes, and to seke godes helpe, to helpe our helth.

Auguste de verb apost s. xiii.

Wherfore the lawe was gyuen

Here

Here it is playne, that the commaūdementes of god, giue vs no strength, nor yet declare anye strengthe to be in vs, but shewethe vs our daetye, and also oure weyknes and also moueth vs and causeth vs to seke forther for strēgth So that these wordes, si volueris si feceris, si audieris, si emēdaueris si vis with al other suche, that be wordes of commaundementes, or wordes vnder a condicion do nothing declar, but what we are bounde to doo, and what shall folowe, yf we do them. And as the wordes of the law do threaten an euil ende for synne alonely for to feare euyl doers and wycked persones from euyl so do the wordes of promyse sturre vp and quicken good mens heartes for to do well and also comforte them that they shulde not dispayre in aduersities.

But neyther these nor those giue vs any stregnth to do that that is commāded, but alonely they do declare what paynes and what reward shall folowe to the breakers, and the kepers of them.

Another scripture haue you where as oure mayster Christe sayth How often wold I haue gathered thy children and thou woldest not Here cry you liberum

can do nothing but synne before God
liberum arbitrium. li. arb. For yf they
had no frewyl, what nedeour maister
to saye thou woldest not.

Fyrst muste we consider that there are two maner of wylles in God, One is called his godly wyl or his secrete or vnscrutable wyll, wherby that al thinges be made end ordred and al thinges be done. Of this wyll no creatur hath knowlege what he ought therby to do or not to do for as s. Paule sayth it is inscrutable and therfore it is sufficiēt for vs to knowe therof alonely that there is an inscrutable wyl The other wyl in god, is called a declared, and a manyfested wyll, the whiche is declared and gyuen to vs in holy scriptures. This wyll was shewed vnto vs to the vttermooste by our maister christe, the sonne of god, and therfore is it lawfull and also men are bounde to searche, to knowe this wyll, and for that consideracion, was it manifested vnto vs. This wyll dothe declare what euerye man is bounde to do and what euerye man is bounde to flee, And by this wyl l is offered vnto euery man, those thynges, that be of saluacion / And by thys wyll G D wyll haue no man dampned, for beleeue the his worde be preached

two wylles in god

gene. 18

indif-

indifferently to all men. Nowe he that wyll knowe this wyll, muste go to our mayster Christe, in whom as S. Paule sayth, is all treasures of wysdome, and science. So that he wyll shewe vs as moche as is necessary for vs to know, & as moch as the father of heuen wolde we shulde knowe. Nowe to the texte, here speketh God, that is incarnated, that was sent to wyll, to speake, to do, to preache, to be familier with vs, to do miracles, yea, and also to suffre deth for our saluacion. Nowe sayth he, I wold haue gathered thy chyldren, that is to say, I dyd preache, I dyd labour with all diligence to conuerte the, I dyd myracles afore ȳ, yea, I wepte, I wayled for thy sake, all these thynges dyd I, with all other thynges, that myght be to thy conuersion, and that belonged to God incarnate to do, But all these thynges dyd not profyte the. And why. Bicause they walde not . In hym was there no faute. For there was no thynge vndone, that belonged to him to do, so that he was wyllynge, & yet dyd it not profite Jerusalem. And why Bicause they wolde not But nowe, why wolde they not Bicause it was in their power to wyll to consent and to will not

to

can do nothyng but vyolatorie god
to consente. Naye truelye, But
bicause as Johan sayethe, They coulde
not beleue, for he had blynded theyr
eyes. and hardened theyr hertes, that
they shulde not se with theyr eyes, nor
vnderstande with theyr hertes. So that
they muste nedes alonely wyll, not to
consente, and coulde no otherwyse do,
but not consent: and yet were they ney-
ther constrayned, nor compelled, nor
wronge to it by violence, but freely
they woulde not consent, & yet had they
the libertie of theyr frewyll, that was
to be agaynst Christ, and not to be with
hym. For the libertie of frewylle stan-
deth not in this, that he may wyll this
thynge, and also wyl the contrary ther
of. But it standeth in that all tynge þ
he wyll, or wyll not, is at his owne
wyll, and is not therto constrayned, but
wylleth it freely without any compulsiō
and yet he can not chose, no nor will not
chose, but so to wyll, or so not to-wyll:
So that there is a necessite immutable
but not a necessite of compulsion, or coa
cion.

Now is it open, that this place maketh
not for you. for there was no power nor
none entention theyr freewyll to cōsent
vnto Christe but to wyll the contrary, &

not

It was not in their bandes to chaūge their wyll

not to wyl vnto him / and al was by-cause they were blinded, and their hertes were hardened. And therfore of their natural strēgth, could they none other wyse do, but vary from Christ no they wolde, nor despyred no other wise / but to swarue from hym, that was al their wyl, & delyte But wherfore they were blynded and wherfore they were hardened, that muste you inquire of ỳ inscrutable wyl that pleased him so to leaue thē. The cause therof I am sure he can tel you, if he wolde I am sure it is ryghtwysely done, that is ynoughe for me. But nowe cōmeth the blynde, and fleshly reason, and murmureth at this, and asketh, why are we condemned for this why doth god punyshe vs for this? seynge we can wil none other wyse. Also he blyndeth vs he maketh our hertes hard, that we cannot amēd vs, and it lyeth not in our power without his wil. Nowe, why complayneth he of vs why layeth he it to our charge Here is nothing done but his wyl, we bebut instrumentes of his wyl. And if we do not well, why gyueth he vs not strēgth to do better. Thou dampnable reason, who can satisfie the whych te beueste nothinge to be wel done but ỳ

thou

thou doeste, and that is done with thy counsel. Thynkest thou not, that thou arte good, and perfite in thyn owne nature, and all that is in the, is both wel and ryghtwyselye made: To this, thou wilte answer, yea for thou wilt not condempne thy selfe nor nothinge that is thyne. But nowe aunswere me to this. what hath made the so wel and gyuen the al thy ryghtwisues/and al this goodnes that thou hast thou must nedes say god. But what was the cause that thou art so wel so ryghtwyse, and so good made seynge that thou deseruest not hinge yea and al these thinges be done so wel, & so ryghtously, that ȳ canst not complayn, nor amende them, no nor yet deuise which way to amend them. Nowe, why doste thou not murmur agaynste God seynge, that al thinges is done without thy knowelege, and also without thy deseruing, why doste thou not inquire a cause of hym

why murmurest thou not that ȳe hath made the so good & so ryghtful seynge thou haddest nothing deserued. But here wilte thou graunt, that God dyd al thynge for the best.

Why dost thou not lykewyse in other thiges. Furthermore thou must nedes

graunt

graunte that .God thy maker and the gouernour of all thynges is moste wise moste ryghtewyse, and most mercefull and so wyse that nothynge ꝑ he dothe, can be amended so ryghtwyse that ther can be no suspecion in hym, of vnright wysenes so mercyfull is he, that he cā do nothing without mercy

Howe thynkest thou wylte thou graūt these thinges of thy maker Thou must nedes graunt them

Nowe compar vnto this rule thy blind nes that is within the thy induracio ꝑ is in the thy peruerse wil towards good nes, and what cause hast thou to com= playne. Thou hast graūted that he doth all thynges ryghtously ergo, thou hast no wronge. He doth all thinges merce= fully ergo thou art in thy blindnes, and in thy hardnes, better intreated than ꝑ hast deserued.

Moreouer, thou beleuest that God is rygh. wyse, that god is wyse, and that God is mercyful Nowfaith is of those thinges that do not apere nor that can be proued by exterior causes Holde the fast to this faith than all thy fleshly rea sons be asoyled for whā god saueth so fewe men, and dampneth so many, and thou knowest no cause why yet muste ꝑ

beleu

beleue that he is mercyful, & ryghtwyse
This is faythe, whiche yf it coulde be
proued by exterior causes, than were it
no nede to beleue it. Nowe, yf thou be-
leue, that he is mercyful, good. & rygh-
tous vnto ꝑ, wherfore murmurest thou.
But yet woldest thou knowe wherfore
he indurs terh the, and biyndeth the, &
gyueth the no grace to amende, and vn-
to thy brother, that hath no better deser
ued than thou hast. yea, he hath lyke-
wyse euyll deserued as thou hast, and
yet he gyueth hym grace, and taketh a-
way his hardnes, and gyueth hym a
wyl, to wyl al goodnes. This is not in-
differently done as thou thynkest.
Fyrste, I say to the, thou haste no cause
to complayne, for thou haste no wronge,
thou hast al thyng, that is thyne, and
nothynge is taken from the, that belon-
geth to the, why doste thou complayne
of this right yea but yet sayst thou that
he giueth the one mercy and giueth the
other none. I answere What is that to
the is not his merci his owne Is it not Math xx.
lawfull for him to gyue it to whome he
wil is the ioyfull bicause he is good
Take that that is thyne and go thy wat
For if it be his wil to shewe his wrathe Rom.ix.
and to make his power, knowne ouerly

riche

vessels of wrath ordeyned to dampnacion, and to declare the ryches of hys glory, vnto the vessels of mercy, which he hath prepared & elected vnto glory/ what hast thou therwith to do what cause hast þ therof to cõplaine it is the wyll of God, wyche cannot be, but well, and ryghtwyse, þ wyche (as thou sayst) thou beleuest. wherfore leue of thy murmouryng, and thy disputacion agaynst God, & reken, þ he is of his nature merciful, & hath no delyt nor no pleasure in thy dampnation, but beleue thou stedfastly that yf he shewe his mercy but vnto one man in all the worlde, that thou shalte be that same one man, and thoughe an angell wolde make the beleue, that all the worlde shulde be dampned, yet stycke thou fast to his mercy and to his iustice, that iustifyethe the, and beleue, that the swete bloude of hys blessed sonne, cannot be shedde in vayne, but it must nedes iustifie synners, and so many as stycke faste vnto it, thoughe they be neuer so blynded, and neuer so hardened. for it was shedde, alonelye for theym, yf thou cannest thus satisfie thy selfe, thou dost thou well, and thou art doubtles out of ieoperdie. yf thou wylte not be

god hath no delight in our dampnaige

can do nothing but synne a lore god
content, but wylte disputo, and inquyre
causes of gods inscrutable wyll, then
wyll. I stande by, and looke on, and
se what victerdome thou walte get.
I doubte not, but it wyll repent the,
that he wyll conclude with the, on this
maner May not I do what I wyl. Now
here haue I answered, to an intricable
doute, that our scholemen are wrapped
in, whiche wolde knowe, what is the Scotus in 1. d.
cause of predestinacion, and of reprobation. dist. xli.
Dans beyng wrapped betwene
carnall reason, and the inuincible scrip
tures of saint Paule, can not tel, whe-
ther he may graunt, that the wyll of
god is alonly the cause of election, or eles
any merites of man precedynge afore: he
concludeth, that bothe the opinions may
be defended. Bonauenture blyndly con Bonauentura
cludeth, that there may be a cause pre-
cedynge grace to deserueit.
So that in these vnfrutefull questions
whiche ingender nothinge but contenci
on, haue they spent all their lyues, and
for these, thinges be giuen vnto them pe
culier names, as subtyl. and seraphycal
and irrefragable doctours.

But agaynste them all I set saynte
Paul. whiche toke intollerable labou
res, to proue by inuincyble scryp-
tures

sures and examples therof, that there was no cause but alonelye the wyll of god. And to proue this he bryngeth in an euident example of Iacob and

Iacob & Esau

Esau, how Iacob was elected, and Esau reproued, afore they were borne and afore they had done, eyther good, or bad Can there be a plainer example what meaneth Paule in these wordes whan they wer neyther borne, nor had done neyther good nor bad, but that ỹ election of god myght stande. Doth he not clerely take away al maner of merites/both de congruo, and also de cõ digno. and declare the wyll of God to be the cause only. But here wyl subtil blindnes say, that God saw afore that Iacob shoulde do good, & therfore dyd he chose hym.

Meritũ de congruo.

He sawe also, that Esau shuld do no good, and therfore he repelled him, Alas for blyndenes, what wyl you iudge of that, that god sawe howe knowe we that god sawe that. And yf he sawe it yet how knowe we that that was the cause of Iacobs electiõ. These childrẽ be vnborne, and they haue don neither good nor bad, and yet one of them is chosẽ and the other is refused. Saint Paule knoweth none other cause but

Two chyldren be vnborne.

the

the wyll of god, and wyll you discusse another, and where you say, that god dyd se afore, that one of them shulde do good. I pray you, what was the cause, or wherby sawe he, that he shoulde doo good, you must nedes say, by that, that he wolde gyue him his grace, ergo, the wyll of God, is yet the cause of electiō for bicause that god wold gyue hym his grace,

Therfore god sawe, þ he shuld do good & so shuld also þ other haue don, yf God wolde haue gyuen hym that same grace wherfore you glaunces that wyll saue due heuen, and erth, leue your serchyng of this cause, and be contente with the wyll of god, and doubte not, but the wil of god, is as rightwise, and as lawfull a cause, as your merites cā be. And doubt you not, but saint Paule (that toke soo great labours in this matter) dyd se as farre in mans discretion, as we can do: and yet he concludes with these wordes of scriptures. I wyll shewe mercye to whome I shall be mercy, I will haue cōpassion, of whome I haue compassion. So lyeth it not in mans wyl, or cunning but in the mercy of god. He saythe not, I wil haue mercy on hym, that I se shal do good. But I wyll shewe mercye

Rom ix

Gods mercy is cause only of our, saluacyon

to whome I wyl. He sayth not, I wyll haue cõpassion of hi that shal deserue it de congruo. But of him, of whom I wyl haue compassion This doth S. Augustyn well proue in these wordes The disputation of them is vayne, the whyche do defende the prescience of God, agaynst the grace of god, and therfore say that we were chosen afore the making of the worlde, bicause that God knew afore that we shulde be good not bicause he should make vs good. But he that sayth, you haue not chosen me, sayth not that. For yf he dyd therfore chose vs bicause that he knew afore, that we shuld be good, than must he also know afore that we shulde fyrst haue chosen hym. &c. Here is it playne, that the election of God is not, bicause he sawe afore that we shulde do well but alonly the cause of ỹ election, is his mere mercye, and the cause of our doynge well is his election, And therfore sayut Paule sayth not of workes but of calling,

Augustyn. sup Joannem tract. lxxxviii

Now go to you subtyl Duns men with al your carnal reasons, and serche out a cause of hys iectite wyll yf you dyd beleue, that he were good, ryghtwyse and mercyful it were agret conforte for you that the election stode alonely by

hys

hys wyll, for so were you sure, that it
wulde be both ryghtwyselye done, and
also mercyfully, but you haue no faith
and therfore must you nedes mystruste
God and of that fal you to inuent cau-
ses of election of youre owne strength.
As one would say. Because God wil not
of his rightousnes, or of his mercye
chose vs, we wyl be sure, that we shal
be elected. For fyrst wyl we inuent that
the electiō commeth of deseruing, and
than wyl we also dreme certeyne wor-
kes that shal therunto be appointed of
vs, and those wyl we do at oure plea-
sure/so that the electiō and reprobatiō
shal stande all in youre handes, let god
do what that pleaseth hym. But nowe
because there be certayne open places
of scripture, that gyue onely the cause
to God, alonely of election, and also of
reprobacyon, therfore ar these mē sore
troubled, and cā tel no nother remedy
but alonely to studye, howe they maye
wrynge, and wreste the open scriptures
to the fortefienge of their errour,
and to the satisfyinge of their carnal
reason so that where the holy ghoste
saythe, I wyl obdurate the hearte of
Pharo, they wyl take vpon them, to-
learne, and to teache the holye ghoste

God is mer-
cyfull.

Mans go-
intēt to saue
hym self.

to speake better, and to say oft by is manner/ I wyll suffre pharo to be indurated but I wyll not do it, but my easynes, mekenes, whereby that I shal suffre him shall bring other men to repentaunce, but Pharo shall it make more obstynate in malyce. So that god doth indurate, as you saye) whan he dothe not chastice a synner, but sheweth mekenes, & easynes and sufferaunce to hym. He is merciful whan he doth call a synner to repentāce by affliction, and scourginge. So that induration after your exposicion, is nothynge els/ but for to suffre yet by softnes, and by goodnes. To haue mercy, is nothynge els, but to correcte, to scourge, and to punish mē for their synnes. This is the induration after S. Hierome, and after your common glose. S. Hieromes wordes be these. God dothe indurate, whan he doth not, by and by castygat a synner. He hath mercy, whan he dothe call a synner by and by vnto repentance by afflyctions. &c,

Oxygyne in persecucion. Glos. Rom. 9 Hiero. super Esaiam

This is auctorite ynough, as you thinke, what shulde you seche any further. Do not these men vnderstande scripture. Is not this exposicion playne This taketh awaye all inconueniences By this exposicion. God is not the au-

of euyl. This is a clerkely expositi-
on. Brevely, this muste nedes be the tru
expolicion, wherfore it were better for
you, to erre with S. Hierome, and wyth
your olde scholmen, than for to say true
with these newe heretikes. so call you
all them, that wyl reprue olde errours
Nowe haue you well defended the mat
ter. Now is your cause well proued.
Nowe must the holy ghost chaunge his
worder. For he hath new scolemaysters
And where he was wont to saye. I haue
hardened Pharaos herte. Nowe must he
saye. Pharo hath hardened hym selfe,
by my softenes and by my easynes, but
I haue not done it.

how god in-
duratetb

But yet I praye you, how wolde you sa
tisfye a weke conscience that stycked
faste to the worde of god, and reasoneth
that the holy ghoste knoweth wel what
he shal speake, and wyl speake nothinge
without a greate cause. but þ that he
speaketh shalbe so wel spoken that you
can not amende it. Nowe thynke you is
it sufficient to saye to this poore man. S.
Hierome, and all scholemen saye so:
holde thou thy peace, be thou contente
with their expositions serche thou no
further it dothe not becoome the to
knowe it. BUT NOW

be wyll lay to youre charge that this thinge is opēly written in scripture & wordes of Moyses, and of paule be plaine, therfore you must answere to them And it shall be as laufull, as necessarye for hym to knowe the mynde of holye scripture, as the expolicion of S. Hierome or of Augustine. Duns, Scripture saith playnly, that god doth indurate pharaos hert, and not pharao his owne hert. It is a new grammer to say, I wyll indurate pharaos herte, that shall be as muche, as pharao shal indurat hym self thorow my softnes, and pacience. By this rule shall Anaxagoras philosophy come in place, that shal make of euerye thynge, what we wyll. And whereas scripture saythe, Saul Saul why dost thou persecute me. Shall be almoch to saye, as why sufferest thou me to be persecuted. Also the father of heauen, sent hys onely sonne into the worlde, shall be as moche to saye, as he suffered hys sonne to be sente, So that we shall expounde all places of scripture, to oure owne purpose, and not to loke what is the sentence of holy scripture, nor yet what the mynde of the holy gost is, but what expolicion wyll please vs beste. & what wyll beste serue, to oure carnall

mynde

mynde, Forthermore, yf god do harden mens hartes, whan he suffereth & why he is softe, and sheweth mercy than did he harden the hartes of the Iewes, whē he brought them out of Egipt into wil dernes. than dyd he harden them, whā he brought them out of the captiuite of Babylon, than hardeneth he all the worlde whom he suffereth in great soft nes, and mercy. Also after your exposi= cyon, he was mercyfull to Israel, when he sent them into Babylon, For there dyd he chasten them, and by afflictions prouoked them to repentaunce.

Lykewise the father of heauen had no mercy on the worlde whan he sent his sonne, for of that he gaue men an occasi= on of induration, But whan he damp= neth the sinners, than by your rule hath he mercy on them, for he chasteneth, & punisheth them for theyr synnes. This is your rule of induration, and no man may say agaist it. Miserere may not sig nifie to gyue grace, nor to remytte synne but to chastice, and to scourge, and by paynes prouoke to repentaunce. And in durate, shall not signifie to harden, but to suffre, and to be patient, and to be mercyfull, and not to chastyce.

But

But maysters, howe was God merci-
full vnto Pharo, by softenes and by su-
feraunce, whome he eastened so sore, w
ten plages, and with suche plages/as
Moyses meruey led of, Cal you ỹ soft-
tenes was that sufferynge of Pharo,
was that an occasion of induration by
pacience, easines and by sufferaunce.
God sende his aduersaries of that pa-
cience, and of that sufferaunce I praye
you, how could god chastice hym more
and yet at euery plage, he sayth I wyl
indurate Pharos hearte. Wherfore
Pharo had none occasiō of induracio,
by sufferaunce, and pacience of God
but rather by his scorgyng wherfore
there muste be an other sence in these
wordes/thā you do make, and we must
seke out an other wayes to know how
god doth worke induracion in mennes
hearte (suche wordes doth the holye
goste vse, therfore dare we speake thē.)
And howe he is the doer bothe of good
and euyll, and yet all thinges that he
doeth is well doone. Fyrste, you
must nedes graūt that after the fal of
Adam the pure nature of man was cor-
rupted by synne wherby we, be al wyc
ked and borne (as Paule sayth) by na-
ture, the chyldren of wrath and as Da-
uid

uid sayth we are al conceyued in sinne Notwithstandinge of this corrupted nature dothe God make all men bothe good and bad, Those that be good, be good by his grace. Those that be bad be bad of corrupted nature, & yet God hath made them. Neuertheles, by nature they are of the same goodnes and no better, than natur is that is to saye cupll but yet the creation of God and hys workemanshyp is good, though ỹ thinge be yuel in it selfe, yet is Godes worke alon him selfe good though the al the world say nay. Now god of his infinitie power doth rule and guyde all manner of men both good, and bad and all men by his infinitie power are moued vnto operations, but euerye man after his nature. As after youre owne philosophy. Primum mouyle by the reason of his swefte motion carieth al the inferior thinges with him and suffereth nothig to be vnmoued notwithstandyng he moueth al thynges after their natural corse So lykewyse god of his infinite powr letteth nothyng to be exempted from hym, but all thynges to be subiecte vnto his accion and nothinge can be done by them but by his principall mocion

so

so that he worketh in all maner of thyn
ges that be either good or bad, not chan
gynge their nature, but mouynge them
alonely to worke after their nature, so
that god worketh good and euyl / work-
eth euyl and god vseth them bothe as
instrumentes, & yet doth he nethynge
euyl, but euyl be done only through the
yuell man. God workyng by hym (but
not euyll/ as by an instrument.

Take an example. A man doth
sawe a blocke with an euyl sawe. The
whiche is nothynge apt for to cut well/
and yet must it nedes cut at the mouing
of the man, though it be neuer so euyll,
for the man in mouyng / doth not chã
ge the nature of the sawe, Neuertheles
the accion of the man is good, and con
uyngly done, but the cutting of the saw
is after his nature. So lykewise God
moueth these euyll instrumentes to wor
kynge, and by his commen influence gy
uen to all creatures, suffreth them not
to be ydle, but he chaungeth not their
nature, wherfore their operation, is a
frute conuenient for their corrupted na
ture, but yet there is no faute in gods
mouynge. Here haue you now, how god
workes all thinges / in all men, bothe
good and bad.

Gods actiõ is good

But

But nowe let vs go to the induration of them that be euyl. Thus is it. Fyrst, they be euyl by nature and can abyde nothig that is good, nor yet suffer any good to be done. Wherfore whan God the auctor of goodnes, doth any thyng er sayth any thing vnto them, than are they more, and more, lorer, and lorer cō trary vnto God, and to all his workes for of their nature they are so corrupted, and cannot agree to the wyll of god nor to any thig that is good, but whan it is offered them eyther in worde, or dede than blaspheme they than withstande they with all their power, than are they prouoked of their corrupted natur to more mischefe, and more, & alwayes harder, and harder

As for an example, whan the blessed worde of god is preached vnto them, ꝑ be wycked, to whom God hathe gyuen no grace to receiuett, than are they nor tyrage amended, but more indurated. & alwayes harder. and harder . And the more the worde of god is preached the more obstinate are they, and the more myschefe intende they.

Than all their studye, than all their wysdome, than all their labor than al their myghte, than al their po-

wer

er than al theyr crafte, and subtyltie, than al their frēdes that they can mak in heauen, and in earth is nothinge els but to oppresse the word of God yea and they thynke all to litle, for the more it is preached, the more they grudge, and the wodder be they After this maner was the herte of Pharo indurated whā that the worde of God was declared vnto hym by Moyses, and he had no grace to receyue it than the more that Moyses laboured in ỹ worde, the more sturdyer was he in withstandinge it & all wayes harder, and harder. This is also euidently sene in the corrupte nature of man for the more a thinge is forbyden hym the more desyreth he to do it, But what nede me to go in to Egipt to fetche an example to proue this Loke of myne owne countreyman, yf they be not openly indurated and so blynded ỹ no man is able to defende them by any reason, or law, and therfore they take them selfe to violence, and oppression, as Pharo dyd, whyche be the ryght signes, and tokens of induracyon For the more the worde of God is preached, and the verite is declared vnto them ỹ more sturdyer, and obstinate be they agaynst it And al theyr studye al theyr counsels

all

all their craft/and mischefe, with all
glosynges, and lyenges, and with blas=
phemynge of god, and his preachers, is
nothing elles, but to kepe the worlde of
to withstande that veritie, whiche they
knowe in their conscience muste nedes
go forth though all the worlde wolde
saye naye.

And therfore will they heare no mā,
nor reason with any man, but euen saye
as pharao dyd, I wyl not let the people
go. But yf they were not indurated, and
the very enemies vnto the veritie, they
wold at the least wayes here their poore
brethren of charitie, and knowe what
they coulde saye, and if they could proue
their sayinges to be true, than if they
had the loue of the veritie/as they haue
but the shadowe, they wold geue immor=
tal thankes to god, and with great mekē
nes, and with a lowe spirit, receiue the
heauenly veritie, and thanke their bre=
thrē hartely, yt they warned thē of such
a dampnable waye, now in good tyme,
and season. But there is no loue to the
veritie, nor yet feare of god, nor regarde
to the daunger of their soules. And
why.

For they be childzen of induratiō

and

and a blaſphemy. And therfore the more
it is preached, the more are they obſti-
nate This is the very induracion that
God worketh in mennes hertes
wherby they be the chyldren
of darknes Therfore let vs
pray inſtantly to god
to moly fie our
harde hertes,
for Chri-
ſtes
dere bloud
ſake. Amen.

ren do nothing but lyue after gods

Why Gods worde it is lauful to preests that hath not the gyfte of Chastitie to mary wyues



Haue sene, and herde in diuerse countreys, where I haue be intolerable persecution against preestes, that were cõpelled by wekenes of nature to mary wyues for that intent þ they myght after Gods lawe, & mannes lawe vse an honest conuersation in this worlde. For the which thing I say they haue ben sore persecuted, some cast oute of their countrey, some drowned, some burned, and som beheded, summa sum matum, all the cruelnes that coulde be excogitate against them, men thoughte it to lytle. Wherefore I that taken my selfe a debtour, and a seruaunt vnto all men, in all thinges, wherin I may profyte them, and specially in those thinges, that appertaine to instruccion of their conscience, hath taken vppon me, in this cause, to shewe my lytell, and

The cause that moued him to wryte of this thige

smal

smal learning charytably despyse the
that be somthyng yet against this holy
that they wyl let them selfe be taught
and instructed by Gods word, and not
to set them selfe obstinatly against the
veritie of gods blessed worde. For our
lord can easely beare, and suffre, an on
wylled ignorauncye. But a peruerse
malycye and frowarde resysting of hys
verite can he not suffre but thereunto is
be a mortal, and an extreme enemie,
Wherfore let men cõsidre that yf this
artitle doth stande with Gods worde,
and with Christes holye doctrine that
yf than they resist, and set them selues
against it howe that they do resist god
the which no mã is able to performe.

Two sortes of men

Certayne men there be, that of a verye
peruerse froward, and obstinate mide
doth set them selues agaynst this arty
cle and other mo.

And will in no wyse admit either rea
son or learning, but still remaine in their
olde errour that they haue conceyued
in their braynes, which ye is neyther
grounded in Gods holy worde, nor yet
in the holy conuersacion, or iyuinge of
blessed, and vertuous men.

Vnto these mẽ wyl I wryt nothing by-
cause I wyl not trouble them, and bi-
cause

ause I wolde not be lothe to be torne
with dogges teeth or els to cast perles
before swine. Another sorte of me ther
be that doth not admyte this artycle,
by the reason that they be ignorannt i
scriptures, and knowe not the very
ground therof, but alonely are ledde
by an olde custom, that they haue ben
brought vp in. yet neuertheles they are
not obstinate enemyes vnto the verite.
but wold gladly gyue place to lerning
and reason

Wath be

And all ꝑ they do is to serche with a fy
ne mekenes, what the truth is The
which thyng they are glad to embrace
as soone as it is layde to them Unto
these men is my wrytyng, and my la-
bour spent whom I do charytably be-
seche, that they wyl fauourably and in
differently iudge this my wrytynge.

This do I bynde my selfe to proue
this thynge by gods grace out of chris
tes holy worde, by the sayinges of ho-
ly doctors, by the auctorities of authen
tical stories by the examples, and prac
tyse of holy, and vertuous me. And yf
I do not this, I wyll be contented not
to be beleued which thing, yf I can per
sourme I thinke al reasonable me wil
gyue credence to me.

T. Fynally

Finally and last of al I will shewe the
ſe reasons, and auctorities wherebye
that the pope hath bounde his preſtes
to kepe as he calleth it pure cyaſtitie.
And in concluſiō after my poore learn-
ning I will alloyle al theſe ſcriptures
and reasons and proue yt in this thing
they can haue no place. Unto the per-
formyng of the which Jesus of his in-
finitie mercy graunte me of his holy ſpi-
rite. Amen,

1. Cozin. vii. Paule commeth blessed, S. Paule whom the churche of god hath alwayes had in reuerence, and he approueth this doctrine of mā ſay-
yng. Let euery man for auoiding of for-
nication haue his wyfe, and euery wo-
man haue her husbande. Marke howe
blessed saint Paule cōmaundeth, wher
as any daunger of fornication is that
euery man in auoyding of vicious ly-
uinge ſhulde take a wyfe. Here is no
man excepted, for the texte is, Euerye
man and ſpecially for them, that can-
not liue ſoole. Unto thē it is a ſtreight
cōmaundement to marry there is no-
ne other remedye ordeyned of God to
auoyd fornication, but mariage, yea
yf there were ten other remedyes more
than mariage yet muſt mariage be as
lawful

as they to be vsed yea and a great dele more seyng that it is specially appoynted of god, for a remedye in thys cause For as for al other remedies as fasting watchynge labouringe chastysinge of a mannes bodye thoughe they be lawful, laudable, and good yet be they not appropriatly and onelye appointed of god to be remedyes agaynst fornicacio as blessed s. Paule doth here appoynt maryage for to be. Wherfore yf it be lawful for prestes for to faste and watche to auoyde fornicacion it muste nedes be more lawful for them to marye wiues yf they be in daunger of fornicacion. For maryage in this case is not alonely commaunded of God but it is appoynted of god for an especial, and singuler medicine for this disease.

Prestes are more bound to marye for auoydyng vicious liuinge than to other chastysyng of their body seing yᵗ is gods ordinaūce therin to appointe.

Marke also the occasion that s. Paule had to write this texte to the Corinthians There were certaine men amōg them that reckened it an holynes and a perfection as certayne mē doth now for prestes, that christen men shoulde lyue soole without wyues, as the text declareth It is good for a man not to touche a woman. Nowe dothe blessed saynt Paule answer to this holye ipocrisy on this manner. To auoyde for

nication

nication, sayth he notwithstandynge your holines, let euery man marye a wife. Nowe, yf blessed S. Paule had thought it vnlawfull to marye, for any christen man, than wolde not he haue sayde Let euery man marye.

Marke also, that it is not against the perfection of any christē man for to marye, but he is rather bounde to marye, yf he haue not the gifte of chastitie. Furthermore note that S. Paul neither bideth them, that thought it holines to be vnmaried, to fast, or to laboure, or to were heare. But alonelye to marye, as who shulde saye, god hath ordeined, & approued a lawfull, and laudable remedy against your sickenes. My doctrine is, that you shal here your god, and vse to your comfort these creatures, and remedies with thankes gyuynge, that god hath appoynted, and therwith be you content, and reckē not your selues wyser than god, in helping and curing your diseases. For nothing can be vnlawful, that god doth alowe, and proue. And for vsynge of gods creatures, and his ordinaunces, in tyme, and place requisite, can no mā be blamed before god But for refusyng of gods remedies, when they be necessarye, let no man thinke,

that

that he shall auoyde gods daunger.
As for example He that wyll not eate, and drink whan he is hungry, and thirstie, but excogitateth some other remedy of his owne brayne, so longe, that he drinketh hym selfe in vtter destruction Let no man doubt, but in this case afore god, he is a murtherer, and an homicide I thinke there is no learnynge to the contrary. Wherfore I wolde that men shulde well remembre theym selues in this case, and thinke not that they can inuent a thing more pleasaunt vnto god than he can do hym selfe. His pleasure is best knowen vnto him selfe.
For this cause, I iudge it lawfull, for euery preest, that hathe not the gift of chastice, to vse the remedy, þ god hath ordeined, and also sanctified. Blessed saint Paule sayth, that mariage is honorable, and the bedde of them is vndefyled. But fornicatours and aduouterers, god shall iudge.
Marke, that S. Paule calleth it honourable and a cleane thynge, What presumption is therfore in vs, that reken it a dishonoure, and vnclennes for preestes to vse mariage. God sayth. He shal iudge horekepers, and aduouterers, But not them that be maried. Wherefore

Hebre. xiii.

wherfore yet agayne, after the doctryn
of sayne Paule, I exhorte all prestes,
Corin. vii that cã not lyue chaste, to receyue gods
remedi with thankes. This is s. Paules
doctryne, where he sayth, I wolde that
all men were as I my selfe am, But eue
ry man hath his proper gyfte of God,
one after this maner, an other after y.
I say vnto the vnmaryed men, and wy-
dowes,

It is good for them, yf they a-
byde as I do. But and yf they can not
absteyne, let them mary. For it is better
to mary, than to burne. I can not deuise
e is not a better texte for my purpose than this
fficient be is.
oze god to
uoyd saints Sayne Paule wolde that euery man
Paule with had the gyfte of chastite. But in as mo-
light and che as all men hath not one gyfte, there-
wayne so- fore sayth the sayne Paule, muste euery
ction man vse hym selfe after his gyftes
And he that hath not the gyfte of cha
stite, sayne Paule wyll playnly, that he
shall mary.

He sayth not, that he shall chastice him
selfe with labour, and with paine/to re-
medy that weykenes, though I wolde
be contente for my parte gladly, that mi
shulde proue all maner of laufull remu-
dies, to helpe them to lyue soole. But

than

than yf they cannot so continue, I will in no wise, that they shal refuse mariage as a thing vnlawful, & filthy, but rather vse it, & proue it at the lest wise, as they haue done other remedies, ỹ they haue inuēted, seing that god hath instituted this, as a thinge that he iudgeth for a lawful, & principal remedy. But note ỹ S. Paul saith. It is better for to mary thā to burne, paules meaning is, ỹ if man hath not the gift to extincte the burning & ardent desire of nature, that than he muste mary rather than be subiect vnto lucke concupiscence. S. Pa. sayth not, rather mary thā kepe whores. But his wyl is, ỹ we should be so farre from all whordom that we should not suffre oure selues so moche as to burne. The whiche precedeth al whordome. and is les in very deede, than whordome. And yet saint paule willing vs to auoyde this les thinge, cō maundeth vs to mary How moch more for to auoyde open whordom, & abhominable, & detestable vnclennes, ỹ is nowe shamles in the world. I do not reproue that prestes do to lyue sole I had rather therto exhorte the, But this I detestate, that men shadde rather suffre and allowe prestes to lyue in whoredome, and in all abhompnable fornication than

whordome is lawful no cause to mary agaīst is lawful diuers cases ergo maria muste rather be also wo than whordome

than for to vse that lauful remedye, ꝑ God hath bothe ordeyned and sanctifyed. We haue no mencion in anye storye, that euer anye preeste was burned for keping of whores But for mariage, we haue seue, & do se dayly how cruelly and violētly men doth persecute them, as though Gods blessed ordynaunce were rather to be extincted, and abhorred, than the thyng that both god and nature repreue. Where is there one man in Englande, that hath so great loue, and reuerence to the holy state of matrimony that he shulde kepe a maryed preest in his house. But preestes, that lyue vnlaufullye against, Godes lawe and mans lawe & against al honesty, and morall vertue, be in euery mans houses and company and rulers, and counsellers, and controlers.

Alas for pytie, what shal I saye to ꝑ affections of mens hertes that thus cā wynke I wyl not saye alowe at suche abhominable thinges. ya and the self same men shal be moost extreme & cruel vnto a poore symple preeste, that of a good herte towardes Gods ordinaūce marieth a lauful wyfe, This preeste I say shal neither haue meate nor drinke of them

of them not yet none office of charite. Bycause as they say, they be good, and cleane fel-wes, and loueth a peace of fleshe well.

These blasphemous wordes haue I herd diuerse times, and many. And mi spyte and laughe at them, and haue a great reioysing in them.

So sore is Gods holy ordinaunce, and almoost vertue & goodnes extincted in mens hertes

Oh lorde God, and thy mercy were not howe were this worlde able to cõtinue? that thus abhominably and sy metfully iudgeth of thy halowed, & sanctified workes. But Oh lorde haue thou mercye, and pytie on vs, for the swete bloude of thy sonne Christe Jesus. Loke not on our synnes, oh lorde God for who is able to abyde in thy syght But lord of thy infinitie mercy, sende downe thy spirite into the hertes of thy people that they maye be taughte better to iudge of thy heuenly, and godly institutions. Amen.

To ony purpose. Other articles that I haue written of, be soumyng herde and obscure sauing alonly to theese men, þ be lerned. But as for this article, me thinke it is so playne that I merueyl howe

I write not agaynste those preestes that can and do lyue chast, but I rather exhort them so to cõtynue.

how any man should doubt in it. For doubtles it needeth no lerned iudge, but onely a Cluttle, and a man all good man, that is indued with reason, and with quittle. For surelye myne aduersaries doth not earnestly defend pure, & cleane chastite, for they know howe fewe preestes there be that kepeth their chastite yea, and they know howe sore they haue punyshed those men, that hathe broken their chastite.

So that they do not defend chastite, but rather sylthynes, and abhemynable lyuinge. In the whiche (the most parte of the spiritualtye doth lyue. Of this I wyll be reported to the recordes of the kynges courtes, and also to theyr owne recordes. In the whiche (yf they shulde be serched) ther shulde be founde an innumerable sort detected of vnclennes. These matters be open, notwithstanding I am right sory to reherse it, but I am compelled seyng there is such intollerable violence vsed against those poore men for mary, because they wold not alonly liue vertuously before God, but also morally afore the worlde.

Let those men at the lest maye wyues seinge they do not, nor can not liue chast.

Now let men alonly vse reason in this case, and make comparisõ betwen these two maner of liuings, and consydre whi

che

the of thē doth become a politike ordre and a cōmon welth beste. Whether it is after reason better for me to defile thamles, other mens wyues, other mennes doughters, and other mens maydēs summa summarum that no mans seruaunt shulde be in saufgard for me. Or els/ that I shuld mary a wyfe of mine owne, as other noble kynges and dukes, and other godd men of the worlde hath done, and doth daylie, and so continue my life with mine other neibours after this maner of good neiberhood. Let men here without malyce iudge indifferently. Blessed s. paule proceedeth further with this matter, and proueth clerely that no man ought, or can be bounde to virginite. further than the gift of god doth strengthe hym, Thus he sayth he as concernyng virginite, I haue no precept of the lord but alonelye I gyue you my counsell/ for I thinke it good by ỹ reason of this present necessitie, that a mā shulde liue so,

As he wolde say, Unto virginite, I can not bind you, further than your gyft is no. I do not reken it a thinge necessarie to wynne heuen by

For heauen is neyther the price of virginitie, no; yet of mariage, But alonli ye ken

No mā doubteth but a great meiny doth thus lye. the whiche ben great persecutors of maryed prestes, I wolde desire them not to proue my pacience to sore For I know their names, and some of their childre

kenvirginite a good & is an expedient thynge to lyue quietly by in this world

maryed me shall testifie thys Virginite is a quiet lyfe,

For in mariage is manye thinges that doth distracte and disturbeth a manne mynde. That this is so, I meanynge, it is wel proued by the texte yͤ folowet yf a virgin dothe mary, she doothe no synne, but she shal haue moche temptation in the flesshe. That is to saye, many occasions of disquietnes. But I sayth sayncte Paule, wolde gladlye spare you from such occasions. for I wolde haue you without sorowe. And she that is unmaryed, hath no care, but how to serue God. But she that ismaried, hath moch care, and sorowe, how she shal dispache al worldly busines,

Mariage hath a greater crosse thā virginite

So that S. Paule doth clearely declare his meaning, howe that virginite is no nerer waye to heauen, than mariage is, sauynge that alonely an unmaryed person hath not so manye occasions to be disquieted, as a maried hathe.

Wherfore you shal marke of this texte Fyrste that sayncte Paule hath no commaundement to bynde men to chastite.

Howe commeth it now therfore that yͤ Pope compelleth all those men that wyll be preestes fyrste to forswere mariage & to bowe chastite There is no lerninge

Diſtrxri ea ante triēniū

ening that is able to proue, how that
e pope can make mo precepts of god
an blessed s. Paule coulde do. Fur-
ber more what auctoritie hath the po
e to bynde vs to any thinge that god
n d his holy apostles hath left free.
l learned men that euer wrote, doth Res nece..
raunt that there be two maner of thi
es in this worlde. Some be called.
es necessarie thynges that be neces-
ary and must be done because that god
ath commaunded them.
nd these thinges no man is able to
ake indifferent, but they muste neces Et res med
e necessarely done. Other things ther-
e, whiche learned men calleth. Res me
ie, thynges that be indifferet, & these
ay be done, and maye be lefte with-
ut synne. Nowe is the nature of these
ontrary to the other, for they can not
or may not be chaunged into thynges
ecessary. For that is agaynst they? na
ure, as s. Paule declareth to the Roma
es and in other diuerse places. Nowe
s this of truethe that virginite is a
hing of him selfe by gods ordinaunce
ndifferent and may be vsed, and lefte,
withoute synne wherfore it standeth
with? no learning, that mans lawe should
haunge the nature of this thinge and
make

make it vnto any man a thynge necessarie where as after gods commaundement, it is a thyng but indifferent. For that were as muche, as both to chaūge gods ordinaunce, and also the nature of ꝑ thing. The whiche standeth with no lerning for as the Pope & al the world cannot make of gods commaundement a counsel no more can they of gods cōsel make a precept wherfore I conclude our of blessed S. Paul that no mā ought to vow chastite further than god hath gyuē vym the gyfte. For yf chastite were a thing that could be obtayned, & kepte throughe vowinge than were it not the gyfte of god but the gyft of vowyng the which is agaynst our master Christ and also against blessed S. paule Furthermore let euery man nowe thinke in hym self seynge that blessed S. p. had no commaundement euer chastite nor yet walde gyne anye commaundement whether that it be ꝑ surest waye and the laufullest to folowe the popes commaundement or els to folowe blessed S, paules doctrine the which knew the perfection of virginitie and also what dyd become preestes for to do as wel as the pope doth. Moreouer yf ms wyl iudg those preestes that doth mary

which folowth sayn' paules counsell & doctrine greuously for to synne, and for to be hereticykes. Why shulde they not rather iudge those men more greuously for to sinne and to be ten times worse than hereticykes that folowethe ỹ popes commaundement in not maryenge Is not sayn't paules doctrine as lauful to be kepte, and as farre from synne as the popes commaundemẽtes be. Or is not s. paule of as great auctorite in the churche of god as the pope is with ỹ pykeyes.

Note also that s. paule wold not bynd the Corinth, to virginite, bycause he wolde not tangle them in a snare but onely he exhorteth them to virginite as vnto an honest and comelye thynge that they might the more quietli serue god.

Upon this same text, sayth Athanasius, that the apostle wolde not compel no man to kepe virginite agaynst his wyll, nor he wolde not make virginite a thing of necessite

wherfore it muste nedes folowe. First, that the Pope byndyng men to virginite doth lay a snare for them, & doth nothynge elles (except they haue the gyfte of chastite) but bynge men

in

Prestes that hath not the gyfte of chastite in daunger of dampnacion Secondarly he maketh a thing of necessitie that the holy goost inspired S. Paule dyd not, nor wolde not do.

Thyrdely) that thinge that S. Paule reckened only to conduce and helpe to quietnes in this present life, that same thing maketh the Pope a sauyour and a helper to heuen the which is a great blasphemye to Christes holy bloude, and also a peruerse vsyng of gods blessed creatures Nowe let euery christen man iudge if this be charitably done of the Pope, yea whether he hath auctorite this to do or not, Let no man, I beleue hym iudge in this matter after percialyte, but euen as he will aunswer before God, After this blessed sainte. Paule gothe forther as concerninge them that haue a purpose, and a promyse betwene God, and them, to kepe their castite, his wordes ben these. He that purposeth surly in his hert hauing no nede but hath power ouer hys owne wyl and hath so decreed in his herte that he wyl kepe hys virginite, doth wel. Here not fyrste, that S. Paule compelleth no man to vowe, but he letteth euery man stand to his own will.

Ethan. legit Et .ubi caute ei rorde sno ser uare virgini

Forther

forthermore, blessed saint Paule wil-
leth what soeuer he be that decreeth i
his herte to kepe virginite that he must
fyrste consider whether it lieth in hys
power to kepe his decree or not yf it be i
his power then sayth saint Paule doth
he better to kepe his virginite than ma-
ry

blessed saint Paule dis-
sayth with un-
lauful vo-
wes

But yf it lye not in his power to
be chast both body and soule than wil-
leth saynt paule that he mary
Note here that saint paul, notwithstā
dynge mans decree, and purpose, which
he made to kepe virginite, wylleth that
he do mary, yf he cannot kepe his decre
and purpose. Howe contrary is this to
the popes doctrine, which rather suffe
reth his prestes to lyue in al vnclennes
by the reason of their folyshe promise
made vnto him than he wolde suffre the
to mary wiues after saint paules holy
doctrine.

xxvii. q. c. de
filia in ver-
bo
decima.

yea the pope is not ashamed, more cruel
ly to punish a poore woman for marieg
then he doth yf she were a whore. For
a nunne yf she mary (saith he) shal neuer
be admitted to receiue the blessed sacra
mente of Christ. But yf she be an whore
than saith he, may she after penaunce, be
admitted to the sacrament. What is ab

of mariage/if this be none. For to compare it yea and to make it worse than whordom. What if she hane vowed chastite hath she not also vowed to flee fornicacion Nowe is she bounde vnto virginitie. but by mans lawe. But for to auoyde fornicacion, and whordome is Gods commandement. Wherfore se how high that the pope wyl se hym self aboue god, and his holy ordinaunce. for thermore saint Paule sayth, that ỹ wyl of God is, that we shulde abstayne from fornicacion, and that euerye one of vs shulde knowe to kepe his vessel in sanctifying and honour. Marke S. Paules saying. First that it is the wyl of god, that we shuld abhorre fornicacion. Who wyl nowe resist the wyl of god, and not regarde the thinge that God wyl haue done. I trust no christen man. So thermore the will of god is that euerye man shulde kepe his vessel in honour. Nowe if preests be men, and haue not the gift of chastite than are they bounde to regarde this cõmaundement. For he saith euery mã. Marke also that blessed S. paule calleth the vessell of maryed men honorable, and sanctified wherfore thã shulde it be vnlauful for a preest to vse a sanctified, and an holy vessel.

The 1. Thes. 4.

To

To possesse other mans vessels in vn-
clennes is agaynste god, and man But it
is lawful for any man here by this texte
to possesse a vessel of his own the which
god hath sanctified and honored. How
can man nowe for any occasion curse ꝑ
thing that god hath sactified, or make
it vnclene that god hath purified. ¶ S
paule hauynge the spirite of god dyd
prophecie that there shuld come men in
the latter dayes which shulde forbidde
men to mary, and these men shuld speak
lyes in holy hypocrisie. Now marke
the texte. Men shal forbyd mariage and
that in the latter dayes, The truthe is
that no man hath forbidden any certain
state of men to marye, but the pope one-
ly. Wherfore this texte must nedes tou
che his kyngdom seyng that he is also ī
the latter days, There were certayne
heretykes called. Taciani whyche dyd
condempnefully and holy al maner of
maryage and thoughe s. paul speaketh
against them yet in very dede the popes
doctrine is not excepted seinge it is con
tained in these latter daies. For though
there were twenty heresyes more than
Taciany yet must the texte be applyed
againste them al that doth

1. Timo. iiij

Taciany

Preestes that hath not the gyfte of chastitie condempne or elles dispise mariage. in the hole or in the parte. for the texte is against them all, that doth forbyd mariage, and specially in the latter dayes. But he that doth forbyd his preestes for to mary doth forbid for sowoche mariage Ergo the text maketh against the pape.

Note also that these men, that shall forbydde mariage, shal haue an holy color of hipocrisy. Nowe hath the poope forbydden his preestes to mary, vnder the colour of holines, because (as he saithe) that his preestes must be pure and clene As who shulde saye, that mariage were vncleane and vnpure for preestes to vse What can be ye hipocrisy, yf this be not hipocrisye. Here is the holy & pure institution of god condempned, as a thinge vncleane for his holy preestes to vse.

Moreouer the Tacians dyd not forbyd mariage vnder the coloure of holynes. But they sayde it was fulilye, and wholy an vnlawfull thynge. The whiche doctryne had no maner of coloure. But the pope saith þ mariage is good and laudable in it selfe, but his preestes be to pure, & to holy for to vse; that simple thynge. For it is not a thinge, sayth he

he that doth become the state of perfect ms but it belõgeth to weke & vnperfect men. Now iudge good reader, whiche of these two heresyes eyther Tacyanye or papiany, doth pretende the greateste colours of holines. And yet I am sure, that the holy ghoste in saint paule, dyd speake bothe against the greateste & mal lest hipocrisy. For he alowyth nomaner of fayned holynes.

¶ There were other certaine heretikes called Marciani. These dyd receiue no man to be a christs man, except he wolde refuse mariage. Marke what diuersitie is betwene these heretikes, and the popes learninge. The Pope receyueth no preestes, except they forsweare mariage. The Marcianites, they receiue no mã to bea christen mã, except he forswer mariage. So yther is no diuersite betwen these heretikes, & the pope, but that these heretikes doth except a greater numbre than the pope doth, and speaketh more generally. But the verye thynge is all one. For the Marcianites iudgeth mariage vncleane, for their sort, and so doth the pope, for his sort. Furthermore Marcian sayth, that amonge christen menne may be no temporall mariage, but al cõiunccion, must be turned vnto a spirituall ma=

The heretikes and the pope all one

al ma=

all mariage. And the selfe and same thinge sayth the pope of his prestes wherfore seyng that they do graūt how that blessed sayn̄t paule, and also holy fathers hath cōdempned this here sye of Marcian it muste nedes also folowe that the opinion of the Pope is lykewyse condempned. But yet peraduenture here wyll be sayde, as doctour Eckias, and other men writing of this matter sayth, howe that the poope doth not condempne mariage but he causeth men alonly to kepe theyr vowe I answere that this is but a small euasion. For fyrste the pope compelleth thē yf they will be prestes to vowe and to forswere mariage. For yf there were no statute made afore of the pope that al prestes shulde forswer mariage. Thā shuld there no bowes be made of prestes agaynst mariage but ꝑ thing shoulde be free.

Timo iiii.

Obiection

The pope cōpelleth a vowe & forbiddeth mariage.

So that the vowe commeth out of the popes decree and prohibition, and not the decree out of the vow. Ergo the prohibition goeth before the vowe. Wherefore this quastion can haue no place. Take an example. The emperour maketh a statute that no man shal be admytted in to his seruice, except that he fyrst swere

to be an enemye vnto the kynges grace of englande, is not nowe the emperour fyrste an enemye vnto the kynges persone and than also a forsyder of loue and fauoure towarde the kynges grace of Englande Ioyne ye his grace wyl take hys act none otherwise, For though he doth not nor cannot make al men the kynges enemyes yet he maketh al that appertaine to hym to be the kinges enemyes.

So lyke wyse the Pope, though he do not forbyd all men marryage, yet he forbyddeth as many as wyll be preestes. yea, and he wyll admyt no man to be preest, except he fyrste forswere marryage. So that the vowe is fyrste made, or ꝑ preesthoode is gyuen.

Nowe yf he were not an enemye in very dede vnto marryage, what shuld moue hym to compell his preestes to forswere marryage. why doth he not as wel byade all his preestes to marryage, as he doth to chastite. yea, why doth he not at the least kepe hym selfe indifferent, and neyther make decree agaynste marriage nor agaynste chastite.

But ꝑ very truth is that ꝑ protectours of vnclennes and fylthie lyuinge dothe

knowe

knowe verye well that this solucion is of no strength or valour.

For in very dede theyr hertes doth reken matrimony vnclene and vnpure and thoughe they wolde now make a glose yet their own lawes, ꝑ which be sprõge out of their hertes doth shewe how moche they holde of holy and vnpolluted matrimony.

The pope doth cal clerkes that be maryed impios, that is wycked cursed vnclene, fylthy & al that naughte is. Also in an other place he calleth the matrimony of lay men, a fleshely, and carnal thinge, and the chastite of his spiritualitie he calleth spiritual mariage, what sayth Marcia more than this is Is not this abhominable doctrine, thus shamelesse to speake of holy, and sanctified matrimonye and to cal it flesshely, and carnal. And yet he is not thus content, but he calleth the mariage of preestes synne And defenders of ꝑ same sectatores filthy dimum, the folowers of filthy lustes preceptatores victoriñ, the teachers of vice lacanres frena luxurie gyuynge libertie to lechery.

Dist. xxxii. Glurimos.

Tel me yf any man wold speake and reprene the whores of the Stewes what other wordes couldē he vse against thē more

more shamefull than these. And yet they
will not be noted to condempne matry-
mony, what mysbehefe can not the deuyl
cloke, yf men will beleue hym. But fur-
thermore let vs se, howe holy, and bles-
sed that he reckeneth matrymony for to
be, by the reason of honours, and rewar
des that he giueth vnto preestes that
marry. Fyrste sayeth he, yf a preeste do the
marry of ignorance, by the reason, that
he knew not the statute of the pope, for
bidding preestes to marry, that than this
preeste, fyrste shall forsake his wife and
than shall he continue without any fur-
ther promotion, as longe as he lyueth.
And yf there be any preest that wyll de-
fende his marryage by the example of ỹ
preestes in the other lande / hym doth the
Pope priuate of al maner of ecclesiasti-
cal honour for euer.

Dist. Iterū, ba aliquan ti.

Moreouer he sayth that yf anye spiri-
tual man doth after this decree marye,
than his synne shall neuer be for gyuen
him nor they may neuer afterward han
dle the blessed sacramente because that
marryage is a fylthy and a foole concu-
piscence sayth he.

con agaynſt ỹ holy ghoſt yeue God

Now iuge indifferently christen re
der yf this be not dispysyng of holy ma
trymony thus shamefully to speake of

it

stand so cruelly to handle thē þ holyly
deth lyue in it hauyng nothinge for hī
but a lousye decree of Pope Siricius
So that men may perceiue clerely how
that he byndeth not his prestes by the
reason of their vowe as his protectors
doth saye but by the reason of that sta
tute that Siricius had made afore the
prestes had vowed any chastite Saint
Timo.iii. Paule whan he shuld ordre such bysh-
ops as shulde be in the churche of god
irreprehensible among all other thinges
he wolde that he shuld be a man of one
Titum.i. wyfe, hauyng children well brought
vp. Here S. paule alloweth him one wife
How commeth it than, that men saye,
that a preest shall haue no wife. Howe
agreeth this one, with none Men must
nedes eyther wrayes graunte, that saint
paule did not reken mariage vnpure,
and vncleane for a byshop, for yf he had
he wolde not haue graunted hym one
wyfe, ye moreouer he speaketh of hys
childzen well brought vp, in the whith
ildern be he admitteth, and alloweth the comune
t gotten tion, and copulation betwen them two,
ith lokig for to be godly, and vertuous.
womā He hath other types to loke on the bles-
ly. sed and holy communion, which is be-
twene man, and wyfe, than the poope

hathe

dethe, For the poope reckeneth it fylthi
and not semely, that a preest should with
his holy handes touch a womans body
and with the same handes to consecrate
the holy sacrament. Oh lord god, what
can not the deuyl bringe to passe, what
abhominable holynes of hypocrisye is
this, to reken a preest vnpure and clene
because he hath vsed hym selfe in gods
holy ordinaunce. Is not this as moche
to saye. God thou art an inuenter, and
ordeyner of that thing, that maketh vs
vnpure, and vncleane, thou art the auc-
tor of this vnclennes. For haddest thou
not instituted it, so had men not vsed it

Alas howe fayne wolde I chyde.
I coulde here saye some thynge, yf
I woulde, but I maye not. Neuerthe
les it greueth me, for I can not tel whe-
re to vse yuell wordes yt I shall not vse
them against such abhominable, and ex
crable heresie as this is. But yet I
praye you one worde. why be not youre
handes defiled for handling of whores
fleishe, is whores fleish so cleane, that
preestes may handle it. and the fleshe
of an honest and a good woman so vn-
cleane, that a preest muste be turned for
laut[illegible] ngrotit.

Burne all
preestes that
haue no wyue
for open
whoremai-
sters, and
benefices
wyll be tha
better chep
And I wi
rekē you th
earnest y t
defende ch
ste

Fye on the deuyll. Thinkest thou
that

Priests that hath not the spyrite of chastite
that men hath neither reuerẽce in their
hertes towarde god, nor yet reason to
iudge of these thinges. what can be sha
meles, yf this thynge shall be thus alo-
wed amongest christen men. Here be all
honest women, and that in honestye, ab
horred and dispised, and who es in cõ-
parison of them, be sanctified and bles
sed But oh thou lorde God, I do per-
ceiue, that thou wylt ones be reuenged
of this dishonour, and shamefulnes.
Moreouer, why doth not oppression, and
violence, and theefte, defile priestes han-
des/as well as mariage.
What hath pure matrimony offended,
that it alonely should defyle priestes han
des, and all other maner of vices, and
vnciennes, doth nothynge contamina te
them But alas for pitie, howe blyndly
do we iudge of this holy ordinance and
institution of god, that thus do blaspye
meit,
¶ What wyll men say to blessed saynt
Corin. ix. paule, where he sayth. Haue we not po
wer to leade about a syster to wyfe, as
wel as the brethren of the lorde, & as ce
phas. I wyl not dispute, whether that
Paule had a wyfe, or not. But this I
am sure, that this texte doth clearelye
proue, and that after the mind of great
doctours

doctours, how that peter/ and other a-
postles had wyues
Wherfore than shuld it be vnlaufull for
our prestes to mary. Be our prestes ho
lyer than saynt Peter and the other a-
postles Or is mariage nowe more vn-
laufull, than it was than. But paraven-
ture here wyll be sayde, that the apos-
tels had wyues before that Christ dyd
chose them, but afterwarde they for-
soke theyr wyues and folowed christe.
To this I answere that it is not y-
nough so to saye. For seynge that they
haue graunted, howe the apostles had
wyues, whan they were called, it stan-
deth with reason, that these men shulde
proue by an open scripture, that the apo
stles, after their callynge dyd forsake
their wiues. yea, I wyl go further with
them, and say playnly that is an ab ho-
minable, lye, and a great blaiphemye a-
gainst god, and his holy apostels. to say
that they had forsaken theyr wyues.
For our mayster Christ taught thē not
to forsake theyr wyues, but in any wyse
to kepe them, saynge alonely for forni
cation.
Nowe is the election vnto apostleshyp,
neyther fornication, nor yet lyke vnto
fornication. wherfore I say boldely, ꝑ

a great blas
phemi aga
inst Christe
and his a-
postles

it is a false ly, against the holy apostles to save, that they forsoke their wyues. Also this same place of s. paule doth proue it a false lye for saynt paule speketh how s. Peter after his apostelchyp, and also other disciples of christ, caried their wyues about with them, whan they went a preachynge. Wherfore it is but a lye to say, that they had forsaken the Nowe christen reader. here haue I performed I trust. one part of my promise that is for to say I haue proued this article of myne by goddes holy worde so playnly, that noman I trust, can, or wil denye, but that these scriptures be sufficient to moue me, and all other men to be of this doctrine. that I am of.

The seconde parte of my promise was to proue this also by holye doctours. Unto the whiche, I wyll nowe repayre myselfe. But afore all thinges, I louingly and charitably desyre the reader to set apart al partialitie, and malice, and to iudge indifferently of my doctryne, as he wyl answere at the dreadfull day of dome. And not to refuse that thinge, that is truth, for hatered, or displeasure of my persone. For surely mine intent is neither to hurte, or harme, nor yet displease, as muche as lyeth in me, anye persone. And thoughe I haue in tymes

paste

somwhat vehemetly wrytten agaynste
those thynges/that I thought errours
yet wold I requyre hertely euery man
to wepe euery thinge indifferentlye by
hym selfe, and consydre howe I haue ta
ken vpon me, not to enuey agaynst anye
person, but alonly to fight against, that
deuyllysh doctrin, which is dishonour
to Christe and his blessed bloude, and
perylous and dampnable vnto all chri
sten mens soules. Secondarely, I haue
ben wrongfully and vncharitably han=
deled, as god, & al good men: doth know
the whiche I wyl be bound to proue,
whan soeuer it shall please god and the
kynge, to assigne indifferent iudges to
here me/and myne aduersaries. No let
no man requyre in me, that he can not
fynde in hym selfe. that is for to say,
that I can so patiently, and so easilye
beare, and suffer these intollerable wro=
ges, as I oughte for to do, yea paraduen
ture as I gladly wold do,

Wherefore I confesse, that many
wordes yat be ben sharpely wrytten by
me, the whiche I wolde gladly had ben
m[illegible]charitablat wrytten, but than
GOD had not gyuen me so greate
patience. Wherfore I trust now by
GODDES grace, somethinge more

tems

temperature to speake defyring euery
good man of his charyte to helpe me
with his deuoute prayer. Amen.

¶ To our purpose. Fyrst commeth blessed saynt Cayrian, of whome was asked a question, what shuld be done with those relygious persones, that coude not kepe their chastite as they had vowed. These be hys wordes. Thou dost aske what we do iudge of virgins, the whiche after they haue decreed to lyue chastely are afterwarde founde in one bed with a man, Of the which thou sayste that one of them was a deaken, we do with great sorow se the great ruyne of many persones whiche commeth by the reson of suche vnlauful, and perelous companyenge together. Wherfore if they haue dedicate thē selfe vnto christ out of fayth to lyue purely and chastely than let them so remayne without any fable and strongely and stedfastlye to abyde the rewarde of virginitie.

But and yf they wyl not abyde, or elles can not abyde, than is it better to marry, than for to fall in to the fyre of concupiscence. And let them gyue vnto the lorde thetue, and vnsclaundered none occasion of sclaunder. &c. I do for my part require no more than blessed Cipzian doth here

teache,

teache, that is for to saye, if preestes can lyue sole, I beseeche our lorde to reward them for it, and giue them grace to continue, But yf they cannot I wold haue no snare layde for their soules, nor yet haue them compelled to a thinge that they cannot kepe. But I wold the thinge shuld be indifferent for them, that cã lyue chaste, so to remain. And they that haue not ỹ gifte, nor can not so lyue, for to vse that lawfull remedye, that God hath ordeined. What hath men to do, or what moueth them to compel preistes not to marye, as longe as god is contented with preestis wedlocke. Let no man thinke that suche a compulsion is acceptable to god. And yf men wyll not be contented with this doctrine, that is so good, so reasonable. and so honest, what can I say to it. I must be content. I can do no more, but say my learning, and let god alone with his punishment.

S. Chrisostome wold more regarde honest liuing than the religious

Also blessed saint Augustyne writynge of this same matter, sayth these wordes. Certaine men dothe affirme those men to be aduoutrers, that doth marry after they haue vowed chastitie But I do affirme, that those men doth greuously synne, the whiche dothe separate them, &c

Aug. de bono cõiugali ad Iulianum

Nu note

Note fyrste that sayntc Augustine wry-
teth of them, that had vowed chastite.
And yet notwithstandyng he wold that
those men shulde continue in theyr mas
ryage together. The whiche thynge he
wold neuer haue suffred (yf it had bene
vnlawfull, and clerelyc, as men wolde
make it nowe adayes. Secondarily ob-
serue that there were in his dayes (as
be nowe many in ours) that though it
a grieuous synne, for a man to marry after
his vowe And yet this opinion. S. Au-
gust. dothe condempne. Nowe let men
admyt this doctrine of s. Augustin, and
I wyl requyre no more. And yf thy wyll
condempne me, than let them also con-
dempne sainte. Augustine, for I haue
lerned it of hym, Also blessed s. Ambrose
wryteth of virginite in this maner.
Chastite of body ought to be desyred of
vs. The whiche thyng I do gyue for a
counsell, and do not commaunde it im-
periously. For virginite is a thynge
alonely, that ought to be counsayld,
but not to be commaunded, it is rather
a thynge of voluntary wyll, than of a
precepte. &c.
Note howe s. Ambrose teacheth, howe
virginite ought not to be required as
vnder a precepte. wherfore it must nedes
folowe

folowe, that the Popes doctrine is vnlawfull. whan he commaundeth, that no man shall be a preest, excepte he vowe chastite. For here the Pope compelleth men vnder a colour, for to vowe chastite As for an example. ¶ If chaunceth me to mette by the way a theefe, the whiche sayth vnto me, Thou shalte not go oute this bridge, excepte thou wylte delyuer me thy purse. Nowe is it of truthe, that I may chose whether I wyll go ouer the bridge or not, but yet this man dothe violence, for compellyng me either to go backe agayne, or els to lose my purse, yf I wyll go ouer. And I doubte not, but the kynges lawe wyll bothe condempne hym for doinge violence, and also take hym for a theefe. So lykewyse the Pope dothe wronge, whan he sayethe I shall not be a preest, excepte I fyrste vowe chastite. I say, that this condicion is vnlawfull, and it is wrongefully done to bynde me to any thynge vnder anye condicion, that god hath left free to me. Moreouer. oure maister Christe dydde not require that condicion of his preestes. Wherfore it must nedes folowe, that it is not a thinge, that of necessitie belongeth to preesthood

¶ Also

Also S. Hierome approueth this doc-
trine of myne, saying, Let byshops, and
preestes rede this thinge (he speaketh
against mispendinge of goodes, that is
offered to helpp vs mē with) the which
doth teache theyr children prophan let
ters, and maketh them to rede comme-
dies, and to synge baudie songes of ie-
sters, and these chyldren they fynde of
the charges of the churche. &c. obserue
that S. Hierome speketh here of byshops
and preestes chyldren, the whiche they
coulde not haue, yf they were mmaria-
ed. For it is not to be supposed, that S.
Hierome speaketh of bastardes, or of
whores chyldren, for than he wolde ha
ue vsed other wordes, So that good rea
der it is clear, after the doctrine of ho-
ly Scriptures, that it is lawfull for prie-
stes to haue wyues, and specially, le the
can not lyue sole.

But nowe wyll we go further, and se
what holy counselles hath ordeyned in
this cause. The truth is that the deuil
hath of longe tyme herped on this strin
ge, to forbyd preestes matrimony.
Not for any deuotion, that he had tobi
ginitie, for he knew wel men could no
kepe it, further than theyr gyftes were
But alonly that he myght laye a snar

fo

for mens soules, and also bringe the holy institution, and ordinaunce of god into a contempte, and a dispisinge/But god hath alwaies of his infinite mercy stirred vp some good man to resist hym We do rede in autenticall stories, that in the counsell of Nicene, certaine men went about to haue priuated preestes from their wyues, But almy hyty god dyd let them. The wordes of the storye be these. The counsell of Nicene, wyllynge to reforme the lyfe of men dyd set certaine lawes the whiche certaine men woulde haue had a lawe to be brought in, the bysshops preestes deacons, & subdeacons, shulde not lye with theyr wyues, whiche they had maryed before their consecration.

The holy counsell. Extripersitia ihistorij bin. .xrr. ca Nicena.

But Paphnutius a confessoure, dydde withstande them, and sayde, that theyr mariage was honorable/and it was pure chastite for them to lye with theyr wyues. So that the counsell was perswaded, not to make anye suche lawe, alleyninge it for to be a greuous occasion both vnto them, and also vnto theyr wyues of fornicacyon

And this thynge dyd Paphnutius, though that he hym selfe was vnmaried

The

The councell dyd alow this sentence.
So that nothinge was decreed, as concernynge this thinge but euery man was left vnto his frewyl, and not bounde of any necessitie. ☞ Here is to be noted, that this holy counsel dyd not reken it an vnpure or a filthye thinge, for a byshop or a preist, to company with his wife.
But they do graunt, that it is a pure, and a cleane constitute for a preest, to company with his wyfe. The whiche is clerly against the pope. For he saith, that it is fleshly and carnall and that their handes be defiled, and they made vnwerthi therby, to handle the blessed sacramentes. But here wyll be sayde, that these men had wyues before their consecration, the whiche thynge they wyl also graunt that a maryed man may be chosen a byshop, and also kepe hys wife,
But he may not marry after his consecration, that had no wyfe before.
To this I aunswer. that it is no lawfull saluation. thus to saye
For yf it be lawful for a man to kepe his wife after his preistyed why shal it not be as lawfull for him to take a wife after his consecration, what thynge is there in his matrimonye, that is made after his consecration, that was not in

his matrimonye afore his consecration
Or for what cause dyd he take a wife
afore his consecration, yt he dyd it to a
vayde fornication, than is he now much
more bounde to take a wyfe than before
for it becommeth him a great deale worse
to liue in fornication after his consecra
tion, than he dyd afore, But these men
that maketh this lyght solucion, dothe
not handle this matter truelye before
god, for it is not their meaninge, that
maried men shuld eyther be byshops, or
preestes. for lette them shewe me in all
their cronicles that euer anye maryed
mā was chosen to be a byshop sythis thei
hab made lawes, that preestes shuld ha=
ue no wyues, and than I wyll beleue
them.
But alonly they seke an euasion how to
defrau ꝑ matter by, for I dare say, if a=
ny mā shuld go about to chose a maried
mā to be a byshop, or eilles a prsō they
wolde thinke he were madd. In somuch
that some of them hath saide that mari
age was so vnlawfull for preestes, that
they haue fayned the holye apostles for
to forsake their wyues after their elec=
tion: Howe standeth these two toge=
thers that maryed men maye be byshops

shops

shops and kepe their wyues, and yet ꝑ apostles dyd forsake their wyues as they saye. But and yf they wyl be contente that maried men may be bysshops I feare me the bysshoprikes wil sone be gotten out of theyr handes and moste parte also of all benefices. wherfore I wolde counsel them, rather to graunte that preestes myght haue wyues, than for maried men to be made bysshops. Furthermore marke that the holy coũsell made no lawe whether the preestes shulde mary after their consecration or not. Wherfore it must nedes be taken of them as a free, and an indifferent thing for a preest to mary after his consecration or not.

If maryed men may be bysshops, thã seconde bigamy, shall no longer be beggers.

For yf they had reckened it vnlauful for hym to mary than wolde they haue forbidden it. For the coũsel was gathered for to reforme those thinges that were amysse as the texte sayth clerely. Moreouer yf it had chaunced than a preest to haue maried after his consecration he had not offended for there was no lawe at that day that dyd forbyd it. Ergo, it is nowe no necessarye article. ¶ If men wyl not be content with these auctorities yet somwhat to satisfye them, I wyl bringe them another lawe

which

maye lawfully marry wyues

whiche the papistes callen Canon Apostolorum, the wordes be these yf any man doth teache that a preest by the reason of his order ought to forsake his wyfe cursed be he. &c. canon apost

Marke of this lawe, that for colour of holynes no man ought to forsake their wyues. Wherfore it muste nedes folow that for preestes to marye wyues after their consecration is not agaynst their holynes.

Note also, that the text sayth how preestes had wiues of their owne & went not a borowinge as they do now, we reade in the counsell of gangrens howe they made this decree yf any mā doth iudge or condempne a preeste that is maryed that he maye not by the reason of his mariage do sacrifice but wyl abstayne from his masse by the reasō therof cursed be he, &c. Fyrste you shal knowe the occasion wherfore this counsel was gathered. Concilium Gangrens. Canon. iiii.

There was a certayne heretyke called Eustachius, the which dyd amonge al other hereses teache, that no maryed man coulde be saued. Also he taught that preestes whiche dyd marye ought to be dispised and in no wyse to be handle the blessed sacramentes. Eustachius, hereticus.

preestes that hath not the gyfte of chastite
Against this heretycke, is this decree made. Now let euery man iudge what diuersite is betwen this heretycke & the popes doctrine. This heretyke sayth, þ mariage is vnpure, and vnclene, & that a maryed preest may not touche þ sacramentes. The selfe and the same doctrine sayth the Pope in diuerse places. And specyally in a chapiter, that begynneth Nullum, where he sayth, that no bysshop shal presume to consecrate any deacon, except he wyll fyrste vowe chastite For no man ought to be admytted sayth he, to serue at þ aulter, except his chastite be fyrste knowen. Also in an other chapter he sayth, They that eyther kepe whores, or ells marye wyues, shall be priuate of theyr benifites, For they are vnworthy for to be in the temple of god and to touche the holy vessels of þ lorde, that doth vse them selues in suche vnclennes, sayth he. What is condemnynge of matrymony, yf this be not he compared to whoredome, and matrymonie to be lyke vnto, þ which dyd neuer none heretyke. The Pope goth farther, and sayth. No man maye, be eyther preest, or deacon, that is maryed, except they wyll promyse to forsake theyr wyues &c

Dist xxviii

Dist xxviii. Nullum

Dist xxviii. Quia

Dist xxviii. Si quis

Dist xxviii. Si quis post

Dist xxviii. Si quis uxorem

Dist xxviii. Si quis presbiter

Dist xxviii. Si quis presbiter a

Dist xxviii. Si quis presbiter a uxore

Thele

Theſe lawes make agaīſt the that ſay howe that maried men maye be preeſtes The ſame thinge doth the Pope alſo ofte ſyme in diuerſe other places of his law hauing none other cauſe why but onelye becauſe as he ſaythe preeſtes muſt be pure and clene. This ſame cauſe had alſo Euſtachius. For he reckened as the Pope dothe howe mariage was vnpure & vnclene and dyd therfore forbid preeſtes to mary. yea in our dayes I dare ſaye that no man forbyddeth preeſtes to maty but onely they that reckon mariage vnclene But let vs go further and ſe what holy counſels haue haue decreed as concerninge preeſtes matrimony. We do read in a counſel that is called the ſyxte Synode theſe wordes. Conſideringe that it is decreed amongeſt the lawes made by them of Rome that no deacon nor preeſte shal company wyth their wyues. Therefore we notwithſtandynge that we folowinge the rules of the apoſtles and the conſtitutions of holy men will that from this daye forth mariage ſhall be lawfull, in no wiſe diſſoluing the matrimony betwene them and their wiues nor depriuing them their familiarite in tyme conuenient.

Tenere eos Siricius

Di Sino dus

Who

Who soeuer therfore shall be found a ble of the ordre of deacon, subdeacon, or of preesthoode, we wyll that no suche men be prohibite to ascende the dignities aforesaid, for the cohabitation of their wyues. Nor that they be constrained at the receyte of theyr ordres, to professe chastite, or to abstain from the company of their lawfull wyues.

It followeth, yf any man presume therfore against the canons of the Apostles to depryue preestes or deacons from the copulation, and felishyp of theyr lauful wyuis, let suche a man be deposed.

Semblably, both preestes and deacōs, whiche putteth awaye theyr wyues vnder the coloure of holynes, let them be excommunicate. But yf they continue in the same, let them be deposed

Note howe this counsell doth condemne by name the popes decree whiche hath commaunded spiritual men to forsake their wyues. And in this is also to be obserued ꝓ the exaction of the papistes, when they saye, that maried men maye be preestes is a faile lye for the pope and they dyd neuer admytte that as this counsel witnesseth. But alouly that they are dryuen to a narrow exi-

gen

geue, by the violence of cure argumen-
tes and they haue none other cuasyon
to delude the people by. Wherfore they
be cõpelled to helpe themselues wyth
suche a lye . For here is it playe-
nely in this counsel declared howe the
pope, and they haue prohibited thole
preestes that were maryed to company
wyth their wiues and wolde not admit
them to mynistre, afore they had forsa
kẽ their wiues. Furthermore note how
that this counsell dothe alledge for the
the rulers of the holy apostles, and the
constitutions of blessed men.
What christen man wyll nowe set hym
selfe against this holy counsell the wht
the hath so good auctoritie for it,
Afterwarde it is to be marked, how that
this counsell doth commaunde, that no
man shall vowe chastite, whan he shall
be consecrated, the whiche thinge is
clearely against the pope that compel-
leth all his preestes to vowe chastite, a-
fore they be sacred.
Now let eurry christen man iudge, whe
ther it be better, or surer to folowe the
pope, hauynge none auctorite for hym
and beynge also but one man, than to
folowe this holy counsell. hauynge
for it the auctorite of the holy apostles
and

Prestes that hathaut the gyfte of ha ste te
and of other blessed men.
Finally marke how ꝑ this blessed counsell
doth despose al those that doth preuay-
le prestes from the company of a lawful
wife. Out of the which doth folowe ꝑ
the pope & al his adherētes ben ipso iure
deposed. And ꝑ they remayne in their
errour they be excommunicated where-
fore I conclude out of this counsell that
prestes may lawfully haue wyues. We
haue also eueu these wordes It is open
that neither deacons nor subdeacons ou-
ght to be forbidden from mariag'. &c,
If this be not playn. I cannot tel what
is playne Wherfore Grecianus conclu-
deth that whether he be preest. deacon,
or subdeacon, he may lawfully vse ma-
trimony, If mē wyl not be contentwith
these sayenges I can not tell what wyl
satysfye them. Reasonable men ought
not to fyght both against god and man
But let vs go further and se what ꝑ po-
pes lawe sayth more
Innocent the thirde wryteth in his
decretalles on this maner. These pre-
estes, that after the maner of the coun
trey, hath not forsaken the coniunction
of marryage, ꝑ they do breake their wed
locke/ought greuously to be punyshed,
sithe that they may vse lawfully matri
mony.

Mark

Marke howe that this was the manner of certayn countries that preistes might marry. Ergo it must nedes folowe ꝑ prestes mattymonye is not forbydden by gods lawe. And if it be not forbidden by gods lawe what charitie is in the pore to cõpel men so violently vnto that thig the which god hath not bound them to. Is it not a cruell thynge for the pope to burne a man as an heretyke, bycause ꝑ he kepeth not his commaundement and lyueth not i open whordome, why doth he not commaunde hym as well neyther to hungre nor yet to thurste.
And yf he eyther hungre or thurste why doth he not forbydde hym to eate and to drinke.
It is as moch in our power to ꝓuyde bitte & to kepe it yf we haue not ꝑ gyfte of God, as it is to bowe, ꝑ we wyl neither hungre, nor thurst, for they are both inclinacions of natur, ꝑplãted of God. For as Tullius sayth/and also the Emperour in his lawe, we are naturallye inclined vnto the coniunction that is in mattimony, for cause of propagation, And it is as moche in our handes, neyther to hungre, nor to thurste, as it is to haue this naturall inclinacion.

And

And as we whan we ate hungrye and thyrsty cannot abstayne from eating & drynkynge. Nomore can we kepe oure chastite notwithstanding oure ; bodye yf god haue not gyuen vs the gyfte. Men may here pleasé somthings the selues & stand wel in their owne conseyte & saye how they can inuent many remedies to kepe theyr chastyte by.

But I dare saie they wolde not for all the clothes that belongeth to their bac kes that the puretes & cleanes of their hertes wer writtē in great letters & set vpon the churth dores, wherfore I wold desire men to be contented and to sette aside al hipocrisye and speake the truthe as it is wrytten in their hertes/for God wyll not be disceyued, nor yet mocked. And doubles, yf I could not shewe infinite examples, howe that prestes neyther do /nor yet can kepe ther chastite, men myght wel blame me for mouyng this artycle. But now. seyng that theyr lyuynge dothe testifye my doctrine, & that to the great offence and sklaunder of Christes holy churche, and also to the great rebuke, and shame of many a good mans chylde, yea finally to the dampnation of many a dere soule, Me thynke men ought to

lawfully mayemary wyues
be content, and to thanke me for takyng of so great labours for delyueraunce of their soules & also for mayntenaunce of honesti and good moral vertue accordig to gods lawe and mans lawe.

But let vs procede further to proue this matter. The mayster of the. Sentence. writeth on this maner. Our wetkenes is prone to fal in to fylthines. But it is helped with honeste mariage. And that thinge that is vnto holemen an office is vnto syckemen a remedye. Marke howe the M . of the Sentence sayth, that we are redye to fal into fylthines. And how that mariage is an honest remedy. Howe can men than after their owne leruing condempne mariage as none honest thinge seyng that their owne clerkes calleth it honest. Moreouer the maister of the Sentence wil that bothe perfecte, and vnperfecte may vse this honeste thinge for to the firste it is an office and to the other it is a necessarie remedy. Jesus how wold mē crye against vs poore men, yf they had halfe moche against vs as we haue agaynste them, But our lorde sende them his grace and mollifie their hertes. Amen.

¶ We haue also in the Popes lawe a tytle, De filiis presbyterorum in the

to the bysshops of Englande, as concernynge preestes chyldren, wherfore it is to be supposed, that preestes had thanwynes, And yf they had than, why may they not nowe. By what auctorite are our preestes nowe more compell d/than they were Haue our preestes nowe more erticles of theyr fayth than they had. But yet here wyll be sayde, that the popes lawe speaketh of bastards, and not of lefull chyldren. Me thynketh, that this same is not charitably answered, for here they do accuse of fornicacion many an honest preeste, agaynst whom they haue alon ely but a lyghte suppolicion. For they that made t is answere/ knewe not those men, nor yet theyr lyuyng. And the terte speketh but of preestes thyldr n, and not of bastardes. Furtermore by this soluction is many an honest man defamed, for to be a bastarde the whiche is an yuell name. And me thynke vncharytably layde by these mē, vnto theyr charges. wherfore note, that these men dothe fore defame preisthod, and that agaynst the ordre of charite/ ỹ had rather graunt al thes preestes, that the lawe speaketh of (whiche is no smal wonder) for to be breakers of theyr vow

and

ert de ffilis
preſo ca ad
preſentiam
venics pro
potiute, ac
ſranſmyſſa

do not ſo
och' defa:
n: holpe
reeſtehode
, they do
at graūte
.m to ha:
baſterdes

& nō to be open whoremaysters, yea and also ther chyldren to be bastards rather than they wolde graunt § those prestes had lawfull wyues. The whiche were neyther agaynst honestie/nor yet the ordre of priesthoode. wherfore yf I shulde thus haue defamed prests, and their children, men wolde fore haue ben greued with me, yea I am afrayde, that some men wyll be displeased with me, alonely bicause I do wryte agaynst those preests whom I knowe of suertie to be naughty, yf hauyng of chyldren can testifie it. But what wyll they say to the Popes lawe in the same place, whose wordes be these Thou dost aske of vs/sayth the Pope/ to the byshop of Lassel) whether § these men, that hath preestes to their fathers may be promoted to holy ordres or not yf they be of good, and honeste demeanour, and well lerned. To this we answere (sayth the Pope) that yf they be gotten of laufull maryage, and there be none other Canonicall impediment, than may they laufullye be promoted vnto holy ordes, and may resitte that same benefice, whiche their fathers had before ec.

Extra ti. de filiis presbyterū cap. Ad hec.

This no man can deny, but the lawe speaketh of prestes chyldrē, that were getē

in lauful matrimony wherfore it muste nedes folowe that preestes were than maryed yea and the lawe calleth their mariage lauful which muste also be noted so that mē may se that this doctrin of mine is no newe thing but it is elder than their lawe. Also in that same title the pope sayth we haue vnderstanded, that N. borne and gotten in preesthode of a lauful wyfe hath alwayes hadd an affection to serue God in thoffice of a spirituall man er.

Her note that the Pope speaketh of preestes chyldren yea and of them that were gotten in lauful mariage and not in fornicacion wherfore the pope supposeth that preestes may haue a lauful matrymony. And therfore me thynketh that whan we fynde in that lawe, mencion made of preestes chyldren they shulde rather suppose them to be gotten in matrymony than in fornicacion bothe for the honesty of the father, mother and also of the chyld Specially seing that preestes had wyues in these dayes, and it standeth also more with honesty of preesthod to graunt that they had wyues rather than whores.

Now let vs se what the Emperours lawe sayth to preestes wyues, we wyll

sayth

bidem cap
tteras

mperiator
nstan leye
nnis Pa.
d perangu
ā Codice
epis elec

layth he that al manner of ſpiritual me
ſhal haue this perogatiue that their wi
ues and their children and their ſeruaū
tes that is to ſay both male and female
ſhal be free from an homage whyche is
called Peangariam. Here is to noted
that the Emperour doth not alonelye
admyt preeſtes matrimony but alſo be
honoureth it with a preuilege and a pre
rogatiue, the whych he wolde not haue
kept yf he iudged their matrimony vn
laufull wherfor men may ſe yf they will
howe indifferent oure forefathers hath
ben vnto this holy ſtate of matrimony
And it wolde not become vs yuel yf we
lerned of them better to iudge of theſe
thynges that god our maker hath both
inſtituted and ſanctified,

Now good reader haue I proued this
article by Gods holy worde by the ſay
inges of olde doctours by the auctorite
of coūſelles and by ſome certain lawes
both the Emperial and Popiſhe wherfore
howeſoeuer I go further vnto the hiſto
ries and proue thys thing by examples
and practiſe of holy men.

¶ Fyrſt we haue the example of bleſſed
ſaynt Peter the which hadde doubtles
wife as it may be proued by Mathewe
whych ſayth. Quod ſocrus Petri tene

batur

batur magnis lebzibas. Peters wyues
mother had a great arres.

Mat. viii. Nowe, yf Peter had a wyfe, as this text
is clere, what thyng ſhulde forbyd our
preſtes maryage. I thinke they are not
bounde to more chaſtite, than Peter was
Nor it wyll not helpe to ſay that he for
ſoke his wyfe after his callyng. For the
ſcripture here ſpeaketh of Peters wiues
mother. why do they not as wel take awa
& his wyues mothers nam, as thei take
awaie his wife But I haue anſwered to
this reaſon largeli inough e before.

¶ Also philip the Euangeliſt, hadde
three doughters the whiche he coulde
not haue had, yf that he had had no wife
for I thynke there is no good man that
wyl re ken them to be baſtards & whores
chyldren.

Neyther it cannot helpe to ſay that the
ſe children were borne before his elec-
tion for this is but a ſymple ſaying and
no proba ion, And it is not ynough be to
saye saying that men wil haue it for ſo
neceſſary an article, but men muſte alſo
proue it by open ſcrip.ures.

For als I may ſay by as good auctorite
that theſe doughters were borne after
his election, as other men may ſay, how
they

they were borne before his election. And I haue better supposition for me out of that texte, than they haue, for they are not called Philips doughters alonely, but Philip the euangelist doughters, wherefore they may by a good reason saye, thei were not Philips doughters, as they may say, that their father was none euangelistę.

¶ We do rede in tripertita historia these wordes, Al prestes in the oriental church che doth abstaine with a frewyl and of necessitie from wyues. For many of thē, in tyme whan they be byshops, haue had of their laufull wyues chyldren. Note howe this historie declareth clerely that prestes in the oriental churches were not compelled to vowe chastite: Secondarily the historie calleth prestes wyues laufull wyues. And also how the byshops had chyldren, after their cōsecration. Nowe do the all lerned men knowe, that the orientall churche receyued their maners neuer of ꝑ Apostoles than we. Wherfore it is to be presupposed, that these men toke their custome [illegible] mar yage/of the holy Apostoles. And at the lest wyse, it must folowe, that yf their prestes

extrypertyta historia li ix cap xxviii.

God

may haue wyues laufully. that thā our
preestes may haue also. For God hath
layde none other burthen on our preef
tes neckes, than he hath on theyrs.
Moreouer. we do rede in Ecclesiastica
historia, that Siuitus byshop of a citie
called Buoscos, wolde haue made a de=
cree, that preestes shulde haue vowed
chastite.
But Dionisius byshop of Thozinth,
wrote agayuft hym and requyred hym,
that he wolde not lay no neceſſite of cō
pulsed chastite in other mens neckes.
Benitus folowed his counsel. Here you
may se, that the deuyll hath bea of lon=
ge tyme aboute to bryngе in this snare
for preestes, but God hath resisted hym.
Ⓒ we haue also in the same historie, a=
gayuft those men ꝑ dyd dispise maryage,
a goodly saying, whiche is this, what.
wyll they repreue the apostles. Peters
Philip had wynes, and dyd also gyue
theyr daughters to maryage. In so mor
theas s. Peter dyd crye vnto his wyfe
whan she shulde be led vnto her passion.
and called here by her name, and sayde
vnto her, Oh dere wyfe, remembre our
lorde. Here is it clere, ꝑ peter had a wife
And here is also agayuft them that saith
howe that peter forsoke his wyfe, whi=
che

,iiii. cxxiii
unitus
Dionisius

iii, ca, xxx

the is here proued a kalse lye.

¶ Moreouer, Spiridion the bysshop of Cipres, hauynge the gyfte of prophecy, hibi,li,xca 8
had also a doughter, whose name was called Irenen, whiche after her kynde full seruice dyed a virgyn. Here is it clere, that this holy man had a dowghter, which he could not haue, yf he had had no wyfe. Furthermore we do rede, that policrates bysshop of Ephesñ, doth shewe, that seuen of his parentes lineally were bisshops i order before hī. he hī self was the eyghr. Nowe could not this be, that his fathers from the seuenth degre could haue ben bysshops, yf bysshops had had no wyues, for the texte is clere of his fathers, and not of his kynsmen. Wherbyuke this is a clere example, and sufficient to proue as great a matter as this is, yf men wolde be contente, and satisfied with reason.

ecclehiste li v. cap xxxiiii

Policrates ephe. epis.

¶ Ex damaso papa, ad Hieronimum presbiterum, et Nauclero.

¶ But let vs go further, and se. howe many popes haue ben preestes chyldren, that this matter may be opened by thē and that Popes them selues may be witnesse of this doctrine.

Syluerius Pope.

¶ Fyrste is there Siluerius pope, the which had a bysshop to his father called

Dimilda.

Preestes that hath not the gyfte of chastite
Dampsday. This Siluerius lyued a
bout the yeare of our lorde 542.
¶Pope Felyx the thirde of that name,
was the sonne of Felyx preest of rome.
This man lyued about the yeare of our
lorde 47.
¶Pope Deus dedit was the sonne of
Stephane the subdeacon which lyued a-
bout the yeare of oure lorde 623

¶Pope theodorus was the sonne of
Theodore byshop of Hierusalem. This
man lyued aboute the yeare of our lorde
634.

¶Adrian the seconde was the son of
Thalare the byshop. This man liued a-
boute the yeare of our lorde. 872

¶Pope John the.xv of that name, was
the sonne of preeste Leo. This mā liued
aboute the yeare of our lorde. 984.

¶Pope Agapitus the fyrst of that name
had a preest to his father called Gordia
nus he lyued aboute the yeare of oure
lorde,

¶Pope Siluerius had a father called
Siluerius a bishop of Rome. This man
lyued aboute the yeare of oure Lorde
544.

¶Pope Boniface the fyrste of ꝑ name
was

mayelawful lye marry wyues
as son, to Jucundus preest.
Pope Olius, was the sonne of Step=
n the subdeacon. Olius.
Pope Gelasius ye fyrste, had a bishop
his father called Valerius, anno do=
ini 484. Gelasius.
Johon the .x. pope of that name, was tohnes.x.
n to pope Surgius, aboute the yere of
ur lorde, 924,
ll these, and a great meyny moo) as the
opes lawe testifieth) were the childre dist.lvi.
subdeacons, deacons, and preestes, cap.olius
aue borne rule in the cuntrie of Rome
herfore I maruale very sore, that m
o reken it so newe lernynge, that pree=
es shulde haue wyues. seinge, that it
andeth with Gods holy worde, with
he sayinges of the olde doctours, with
he determinacion of counselles, with
pemperours lawe, and also with the po
es olde decrees.
Moreouer Christes holy apostles and
many other holye men sins their dayes
haue lyued in the holy state of matrimo
ny. Finally there haue bene many holy
men and also holye women borne in the
wedlocke of preestes. By what reas=
on nowe can or wyll men dampne all
these thynges/that be of so gret aucto=
ritye

Prestes that hath not the gyfte of chastite
yf men wyll here neyther God nor man
nor yet no good reason, what nede men
than, so moche to speake of lernynge.
seing þ they wyl here nothyng, but that
they alonely iudge good, Truely this is
a great bigbe mynde of mē, thus wrong
fully to condempne other men for here-
tykes/hauyng so good lernyng for them
And yet they them selues are grounded onely of their owne sensual mynde,
hauynge no lernynge, nor reason for
the m
But I wyll put this matter to Gods
iudgement. And let not men doubte) yf
they beleue ther be a God) but that God
wyll be a reuenger of suche wrongfull
violence, as men do vse in this case/bothe agaynst hym, and agaynst al his blessed company of sayntes. But yet for to
do men pleasure, and that they might be
perswaded, yf it were possible, I wyll
declare vnto them/howe that we do find
olde monimentes/testifienge clerely, þ
preestes were in peaceable possession of
matrimony/and their children/ gotten
in that same matrimony, were admytted to spirituall benefices.
¶ In the tyme of Pope Alexandre the
thyrde, there was a controuersy for the
patronage of a benefice betwene þ prior
of

of Plympton in Deuenshyre, and one Johon de Valletorda.

Nowe were there deputed iudges, Rycharde archebyshop of Canturbury, and Roger byshop of Wichester, before whō the pryor of Plympton proued his patronage by the reason that he was in possession and had gyuen it vnto dyuerse persons. Fyrste (he sayth) ther was a preest of Plymtō, called Alpheghe which had by the gyfte of the pryor of Plympton the benefice of Sutton, which is nowe called Plymmouthe.

This Alpheghe had a sonne called Sadda which had also ꝑ benefice after hys father. And after Sadda was there another preste called Alnodus which had the benefice lykewise. Thys Alnodus had a sonne called Roberte Dunpruste, which after the decease of hys father. Colin Fab Alnode had also the sayde benefice. And after this Roberte Dunprust, william Baron his sonne, enioyed the benefice lykewise. Here mēmaye se, ꝑ it is nether so newe a thyng, nor yet so longe ago sins preestes hadde lauful wiues.

¶ Moreouer, I rede in oure owne cronicles, that in the tyme of Kyng Henry the. iii. Which reigned the yeare of our lorde. 1210. Preestes myght laufullye

mary

mary wyues in somoch that Anselme,
than archebyshoppe of Canturbury in a
Seane ꝑ he helde at London dyd make a
decree that preestes shulde forsake their
wyues, the whiche was bothe agaynste
Gods lawe and mans. For the texte of
our maister Christ is clere. Quos deus
coniunxit. Homo non seperat. Marke
these two wordes. Deus, & Homo. And
howe moche thone passeth thother,
¶ Furthermore the pope himself hath
not greatly regarded preestes chastite, yf
he myghte get any money for dispensa-
tions in the whiche thinge he could not
haue dispensed yf it had ben of Gods
lawe. And if it be but mans lawe, what
charite is in the Pope to compel mē so
sore to kepe it seyn e that it is so great
daunger vnto preestes, and that so ma-
ny soules ben lost thorowe it, yea what
tyranny is in him, thus cruelly to kylle
men for breakinge alonelye of his com
maundement the whiche is not in their
power to kepe. To our purpose the Po-
pe hath often tymes dispensed both pre
stes, and relygious men, for their vowe,
and hath gruen them lycence to mary
¶ It is not vnknowen to many men ꝑ
there was an Abbot of Reading, whom
men for his perfyte lyuinge cal Abbot
Rauff

Saint Louis man beynge in daunger of a certayne disease, by the reason he had no wyfe lente vnto the pope, desirynge him to dispense with him for his vowe and the pope dispensed with hym, and gaue him licence to marry a wife. But vnder a condicion, that it shulde be secretly done and not In facye ecclesie. By th s men may se, that the pope him self holdeth not so moch of preestes chastite for thau he wolde not regarde more money han it.

Abboth ca
ts of readi
preestes hath
maryed af
ter their
preesthode

And if the pope may dispense with this abbot for anoydynge of a disease corporal, how moche more ought he nowe to dispense with preestes seynge therebe so many soules in daunger, yea, and also the holy ordre of preesthod is sore defamed, and sklaundered/ by the reason that preestes hath no wyues

Moreouer we red, that pope Celestine the thirde dyd dyspence with a Nunne whose name was called Constantia kynge Rogers doughter of Cecil and gaue her licence to marye with Henrye thēperour the vi. of that name. This was aboute the yeare of our lorde 1.1.8.6.

Cranstius. canut⁹ was seuen yeare amōke cluniacensis ✠ yet the pope dispensed with him to marye a wyfe

So that men maye perceyue howe

Prestes that hathnot the gyfte of chastite
howebe. pope doth not greatly regard
the vowe of his spiritualte, yf any thig
may be gotten to pay for a dispensacion
And it wyl not helpe to say that ỳ pope
dyd dispense with this woman for a cō-
mon welth. For the storie maketh men
cion that the pope dispensed with him
vnder a condicion that he shulde paye
him a yerely pencion for the kyngdome
of Cecyl, and shulde recouer it of his
owne charges out of the handes of Tan
credus which was than in possession of
it. And bicause that he myght haue the
better title to the kyngdome he gaue bi
the only doughter of Cecil. So that the
pope dydde it not for a common welthe
but for his owne lucre.
But now i graunt that it were done for
a commen welth, ergo syns it was not
gods cōmaundement that prestes shuld
lyue sobre for goods worde gyueth no
place to no cōmon welth. And if the pope
did than dispense for a cōmō wel he why
doth he not now dispense for auoydinge
of fornicacion in so manye innumerable
prestes.
Doth not men reken it for a commen
welth to expel fornycacion and al occa-
sions therunto. But nowe there is no
commen welth to be regadred / bycause
there

there is no wynning golde offered. But at the leſt wayes me thinke that prieſtes which mary be very farre from hereſy for it is neither againſt Gods lawe, nor yet againſt the commō welth. Here were many examples to be brought in, howe ỹ pope hath diſpenſed herto with monkes freers/and nunnes the whiche I wyll paſſe ouer, and wyll ſhewe as nere as I cā out of cronicles how longe it is that the Pope hath gone about to bring in ỹ bowe of chaſtite:

Doct. Eckius doth ſaye, that Calixtus primus dyd fyrſt make the ſtatute, that prieſtes ſhuld bowe chaſtite, but that is falſe. For al cronicles beareth wytnes, that prieſtes had wyues in the counſel of Nycene the which was almoſt an hūdreth yeares after Calixtus dayes.

Wherfore it can not be ſuppoſed that ỹ ſtatute was made before the counſel of Nycene. But autentical hiſtories doth make meution, that Nycholas the firſt which was by bysp of Rome the yeare of oure lorde 860 dyd go about this thinge but he could not bringe it to paſſe by the reaſon of an holy man ſ. Huldericke Epyſcopus Augue nſis the whiche wrote a very ſharpe Epiſtle againſt hym reprouinge him for he cauſed he walde Nycholo.

Preestes that hath not the gyfte of chastite
compel preestes to vow chastite, his wor
des be these. Thou haste not swarued a
lytle from discretion, that where as y
oughteste to haue counsayled preestes to
chastite, thou hast with a lordelye vio=
lence compelled them to it. Is not this
after the iudgement of al wise men, a
great violence whan that thou, agaīst
the institution of the gospel and agaīst
the decree of the holy goste wylt compell
men to obserue thy priuate decree, &c,
He resisteth also agaynste the bysshop of
Rome al those same scriptures, that I
haue broughte here in my boke of thys
matter, and also certaine of the counsels
to that purpose, that I haue broughte
them, So that menne ought
not to thynke, that I am the fyrst that
thus hathe vnderstande the scriptu=
res not yet the fyrst that hath spoken a=
gainst preestes vowes.

To compell preestes to vowe chastite, that hath not the gifte to halfe bro they vnto he relye.

Note also howe this holy man sayth
that preestes ought to be admonyshed
counselled to chastite but not compelled
For that (saithe he) is a great violence
and agaynst Christes holye gospell, a
& blessed spirite of god, These be as
hemente wordes as I haue spoken. Fo
out of these wordes menmaye gather
it is not farre from heresye to compe
preest

preestes to bowe chastite. This holy mā proceaded further with the byshop of Rome, and telleth a facte of S. Gregorye the which went about to compel preestes to bowe chastite. ¶ Upon a day saint Gregory sente vnto his pondes for fysh and in the nettes that they fyshed with alwere brought vp aboute vi. M. yong chyldrens heddes the whyche thynge, when S. Gregory sawe, stroke hym soore to herte, and he was very heauy of that sighte and perceyued anon, that his decree, that he made for preestes chastite was the occasion of this great murther In that that preestes couldenot lyue soole nor yet they durst not awowe their children for feare of the decree. And so for saluegarde of their honesty, they fel into a feareful, and abhominable synne to kyl their owne childzen. And for this cause Saynte Gregorye (saythe this holye byshop) dyd reuoke his decree againe, and did greatly alowe the sayinge of the apostle. It is better to mary thā to burne. Addyng vnto it of his owne. It is better to marye than to gyue occasion of murther. Here note good reder, what a terrible, and a ferefull example this is, Is not this a

O lord god that our bishops wold nowe be so charitable.

petious

Preestes that hath not the gyfte of chastite
ctions cause that so manye thousandes
innocentes be thus slayne whan shall
chastite keping of al the preestes in the
worlde be an occasion of so great good-
nes as the law of chastite hath ben here
of myschefe. Alas is there no pity in mēs
hertes that are nothyng moued, whan
they rede such horrible factes in holye
mens writynges

Or do men thinke that there is no mys-
chefe nowe in our dayes done by the rea
son that preestes are compelled to cha-
stite? yf men thinke that there come any
myschefe by the reason of it, how cā mē
recken to augyde. Gods vengeaūce
wyl so stykly and stronglye mayntayne
the same.

¶ I haue ben informed of credible
persons, the which yf nede wer I could
yet bringe forth that in a place of relyg-
gion within this fewe yeres there was
a relygious man that did gette a womā
with childe the which womā was brought
a bedde in the brothers chambre of the
same house, This chyld was christened
in the same chambre and as soone as it
was christened he brake the necke of it
and buried it in the nyghte, in the church
yard, This is the truth. I cāprone it.
Is not thys a terrible thynge/both no
nature

nature abhorre this. And yet mē had ra
ther here this abhominablenes, thā for
to relese a lytle of their owne wyl. But
oh lorde god, how streygthly shalt thou
punishe this.

¶ It is not yet out of mynde of man is
that an honest man loste his doughter
by ther eason that a preest defoyled her
the which (bycause he wolde not be dy-
shonestes) kylled that maide preuelye
and afterward cast her into a wel yf mē
will not be moued at this, and such lyke
other factes. I can not tel what wyl mo
ue them.

Another exa
ple of the sa
metre

I coulde resite a great meyny of abho
minable and detestable factes, yf I wer
not more ashamed to tel them, than pre-
stes hath ben to do them. Neyther wyl
I resite how shamfully that mēs dough
ters, mens wyues, mens seruātes hath
ben and are dayly cast away by the rea
son that preestes are so hote of courage
and cannot kepe their chastite. Wold
it not abhorre a christen man to here tel
of the innumerable bawdes, that are
made by the reason that prestes cannot
lyue chaste. what a petious case is it to
se so many yong mē cast awaye the whi
che doth se dayly their marsters vnclea
ne lyuing Here were many thynges to

be

be resisted, but honesty compelleth me to passe them ouer. But I thynk there is no good man, but he wyll thynke as moche in hym selfe, as I eyther wold saye, or can saye. I coulde tell, yf I wolde, the occasion wherfore that those Cardinals of Rome, whiche kepeth whoores, be noted of the cõmon people to be of the best sorte of Cardinals. But I wyll passe it ouer. Neuertheles it greueth me a lytle, that I may not som what open my herte. But this I promyse them, yf any of these protestantes of thys tyme thys chastite dothe take in haude to defende it agaynst me, I wyll not be ashamed to wryte, that they haue not ben ashamed to do. Nor I will not kepe secrete howe certeyne bysshops of Englande, and also of other countreyes, dothe let whoores to fetche vnto prestes. And all bicause they wyll not suffre them to marye. yet here wyll I tell you one prety tale. There is a bysshop lyuing at this same day in Germany, whiche had nede of a great somme of money (I coulde tell his name yf I wolde) this bysshop called vnto hym a gentylman, a great frende of his, which smelled a lytle of the newe lernynge, so called, vnto this man he made his complaint, howe that he must nedes mak[e]

I wyll not speake of the lytle prytye boyes that followe prestes in long doubletes, and hose

The chastite of the courte of rom, frō the whiche god defende vs all.

wayte. spare me a lytle, to speke but one, worde more.

wyfe shortely for a great somme of mo-
ney, desyryng hym both to helpe hym,
and also of his counsell. This man sayd
vnto hym, yf he wolde folowe his coun-
sell, he wolde shortely helpe hym. The
byshop was very glade and graunted
to folowe his counsel. Than sayde the
gentyman. My lord, your lordeshyp shal
gyue a strayte commaundement, that all
your prestes within your diocese, shall
put awaye theyr whoores, within this
two monthis, vnder the payne of here-
sye at the lest. After this your lordeshyp
shall sende.ii. of your counsellers, that
be knowne to be greatly in your fauour,
to handle with the prestes, in theyr owne
names, for to take vp this matter betwen
your lordeshyp and them.

An history sprong out of the chastito of prestes this man intended to declare to his holy father, what honestly was maintayned by prestes chastite

But vnder this condition, that ye prestes
shall graunt vnto them a certaine somme
of mony, & they shal promyse the prestes
that they wyll bryng it to passe, that
your lordshyp (notwithstandyng your
strayte commaundement) shalbe content-
ed to suffre them to lyue, as they haue
done in tymes past, and after the olde
custome of the churche.

The byshop was contented with this
counsell, and incontinente gaue out the

com-

the commaundement/ and afterwarde sente out two of his beste frendes, prevely to treate with the preestes in theyr names/but not in his. For he wolde not be knowen of it, bicause he had vowed chastite. But what thynke you, that these two men dyd gather in this one bysshopryke, within the space of two monthes. Verely.xx. M. guyldenes, the whiche money the bysshop receiued very douout ly, and thought it not agaynst the vowe of chastite. what shall men say to these mens conscience. that wyll not stycke to burne a poore preeste þ marycth a wyfe, but yet, they wyll receyue.xx.M. guyldens to mayntayne open whordome. Oh lord God thou knowest this, and yet doubtles thou sufferest it. And all bicause they shulde haue space, and respite to amende, vnto which, God gyue thē grace Amen.

Dist xxxi ca Iuxta trienū

¶ But agayne to our purpose men may perceyue that this holy bysshop Hildesryke was agaynst the Pope, and dyd also alowe my doctrine, and declare that S. Gregorie dyd repent hym of þ statute that he had made for preestes chastite. wherfore I conclude here yet agayne, that Gods holy worde, olde doctours, holy counsells, the emperours lawe, olde

Decrees

decrees of the churche, the practise of the holy apostles & lyuyng of holy mē ſūma ſūmarū Gods law, & mans law, nature, & reason, dothe alowe this article of myn. wherfore I trust no good, nor reasonable man wyll wythstande me, in this case.

¶ There rouneth a great voyce of me, þ I haue maryed a wife. and for that cause men doth reken that I wyll ſomthynge proue my witte, and also stretche my lerenyng, to maynntay that preestes might haue wyues. But the very truthe is before God, and man, that I haue no wyfe, nor neuer wente about to mary, I thāke God of his grace.

The worlde will lye

I haue me uaile why mē are aſſy med to com and lay the thynge to m charge no that I ā l

And of this, I haue as noble prynces as be in Germany, to bere me witneſſe, and also many other worshypfull, and honeſt men, that dothe knowe me, and my conuerſation, I haue also the ryght worshypfull man doctour Lee, whyche was the kynges ambaſſadour with vs, & all his ſeruauntes to teſtifie for me, whiche be honeſt men/and ſufficient in a greater cauſe thā this is. Finally, here is also þ bysshop of our cite, with whom I dodwel and am moſte conuerſaunt with. Here is also the embaſſadours of Lubycke, whi che doth also knowe me, and my conuer ſation. And I doubte not, but all they wyll

wyl testifie for me, as farre as any lawe
shal require yea I dare say, that myne
aduersaryes haue not so good testymo
ny that they kepe their bowrd chastite
as I haue that I am no maryed. But al
is done to bring me in displeasure. Let
God prouide. Neuertheles, what yf I
had a wyfe is yt so great a tryme what
can men make of it. Hath not many no-
ble princes and good men wyues wyll
men make more articles of saluacio for
me than for princes or for other christen
men, what haue I deserued thus to be
taken. Men will haue to do with me,
but I promyse them, they shall get no
good by it, yf I may come to mine ans-
swer, I will be able alwayes to defende
a wyfe (yf I were dysposed to marye) a-
gainst al those that kepe whoores. Let
them begyn when they wyl. Notwith-
standing, I do not abstaine from a wife
because it is yuel and vncleane to mary
but I haue other lefull consyderacions.
Let no mā doubte but this is of trouth
yf I had a wife, I wolde not haue med-
led with this article because that men
mighte haue suspected me, that than I
wolde haue defended this article, for ỹ
mayntenaunce of my facte. But nowe
on the other syde that men shulde not
thynke

thinke howe I dispised marriage or the ughte it vnlefull for a preest to marry in as moche as I my selfe do not marry. Therfore haue I taken this labourte on me to write my meaninge and so moche the more boldely bycause that mea ha= Amen.

ue no cause to suspecte me that I speke to defende mine owne cause but alonely to set out the verite so God helpe,

¶ But nowe wyl I go to the popes law and se what tyme that this thinge be= gonne to take strength it had ben often tymes attempted but it was alwayes re pelled by one good man or other tyl after the days of s. Gregory

¶ Pope Siricius made a statute that Distinct. 32. Plurimos
preestes shulde haue no wyues but it ne= uer toke effect.

¶ After hym came pellagius the second and he commaunded that those preestes that had maried wyues, should abstain from their wyues

¶ Next after hym came saint Gregory and though your statute of pelagi us to sore that men should absteyn from theyr wiues, which hadde neither ben wed chastite nor yet had vsed them lefe so commenes

And

And therfore he decreed, ꝑ the bysshops
shulde consecrate no subdeacon, except
t xcvi.cap he wolde fyrst vowe chastite. This is
ite trieuñ openly in the popes lawe. Here began ꝑ
thynge somthynge to sprynge, & to take
effecte, but yet it was not fully stablyshed, For afterwarde s. Gregor. hym selfe
repented hym, as Hylderike beareth
witnesse, by that reason of ꝑ great murther, that he sawe come therof. wherfore
it remayned so styll a great whyle, vnto
the comynge of Leo the.ix. & he sayth
t xxxi, cap that preestes may kepe theyr wyues, but
nnino they may not company with them, for
the apostles (sayth he) dyd forsake the
company of theyr wyues, alonely they
prouyded them meate, and clothe.
t.xxviii. ¶ After hym commeth Innocencius the
ceruimus seconde/the whiche (not regardyng gods
holy ordinaunce) ioyneth me preestes ꝑ
marryeth, and preestes that kepeth whoores, all vnder one dampnacion.
But al these yet coulde not bryng this
matter to passe, as they wolde, for in
many places (for all this) preestes had
wyues, Tyll the tyme of Gregory the
nelerus seuenth, which was called Hyldebrāde
rius a man of vnchristyanyng, as the cronycles
randy. testifyeth and also a great nygromancer,
mus and very familier with the deuyll. And

as

as cronycles saythe, a man that had poy
soned .iiii. or .v. popes before, þ he might
come the sooner to it.

This man (I saie) in the yere of our lord
1007. began to attempte this matter verie
sharpely in Germany, where preestes
were than quietely suffered to haue
wyues, This man sente his commaun-
dement vnto Otto bysshop of Coust, com-
maundyng to forbyd preestes that had
not yet maryed, for to mary, And those
that had maryed, to be seperated from
theyr wiues. But bysshop Otto perceyu-
ing this thing for to be deuyllishe,
wolde not exercise his commaundement
wherfore pope Grego. curssed him, and
assoiled all men from his obedience, and
cited hym vnto Rome, where he had ga-
thered a counsell, in the whiche he had
made a decree, that no preest shulde after
warde mary. And they that had maried
afore, shulde forsake theyr wyues. Moreo-
ouer, it was there decreed, That no man
shulde receyue holy orders afterwarde,
excepte he first sware to liue soole.

These decrees were pronulgated ouer al
Itali. But the preestes, and bishops of
Fraunce resisted this decree, and saide,
that this counsell was contrari to gods
worde, and toke from preestes that God

Here beg
neth pres
chastite t
get þ o
hande
thys wa
captaine
the nones

Per illa
gē quos
coniurp
mo no
perat
mo dim
vxorē
ta\foru
onis ca

Prestes that hath not the gyfte of chastite and nature had graunted them. And therfore the Pope (sayd they) was an heretyke, and an auctour of dampnable doctrine, And that this decree came not of God, but of the deuyll, and alledged for them the saying of our M. Christe, Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc. And also sayne Paule. De virginitate preceptum non habeo. They sayde also, that ỳ Pope wolde compel the to lyue lyke angelles,

And howe he eydde open a wyndowe vnto fornication, and vncleanes, wherefore they made hym answere /that they had rather to forsake theyr benefices, than theyr wyues. And yf he wolde dispise maryed prestes, than shuld he go, and prouyde hym aungels to serue his cures. But the Pope was nothynge moued at all theyr scriptures, or reasons, but styll wrote to the bysshoops strayte letters, commaundynge them, and threatnynge them vnder the payne of curssing and priuatynge them of theyr bysshoprykes, that they shulde bringe this thyng to passe, Soo at the last, the moste parte of the bysshops consented to hym forced and labored all they coulde to perswade the prestes to forsake theyr wyues, and to vowe chastite. But it was longe ere the prestes

who can recure a better answere than these? hope may be their workes be good workes

1. Corin. vii.

preestes were perswaded, yea some of the wolde neuer agree therunto as longe as they lyued. This Pope wrote also to the archebyshoppe of Mens commaundinge him as primate of Germany to compell maried preestes to forsake their wyues and to cause all other to bowe chastitie

This bishop called a conuocation, in the whiche he declared the popes pleasure but the preestes resisted maruaylous ernestly, alleginge for them scriptures, reasons, and counsells So fare they proceded together, that there had lyke to haue ben a great tumulte. Than the byshop beyng a wise man, considering how spyte, and ernest the preestes were, desyred them to take halfe a yeare deliberacion, exhortinge them to agree vnto that thinge with a good will, vnto the whiche he must els compel them / by the poopes auctoritie. After the halfe yere was come out, the bishops called a conuocion at the vniuersitie of Erfurde, and there required an aunswere of the preestes. but they were stiffer then before, and sayde howe they hadde rather die, than forsake their wyues, contrarye to GODS lawe. ONE other syde

the

Preestes that hathnot the gyfte of chastite
and nature had graunted them. And
therfore the Pope (sayd they) was an he
retyke, and an auctour of dampnable doc
trine, And that this decree came not of
God, but of the deuyll, and alledged for
them the saying of our M. Christe. Non
omnes capiunt verbum hoc. And also
sayne Paule. De virginitate preceptum
non habeo. They sayde also, that ỹ Pope
wolde compel the tolyue lyke angelles,
And howe he eydde open a wyn-
dowe vnto fornication, and vnclennes,
wherefore they made hym answere
/that they had rather to forsake theyr
benefices, than theyr wyues. And yf he
wolde dispise maryed preestes, than shuld
he go, and prouyde hym aungels to serue
his cures. But the Pope was nothynge
moued at all theyr scriptures, or reasons
but styll wrote to the byshoys strayte
letters, commaundynge them, and thre-
tnynge them vnder the payne of cursing
and priuatynge them of theyr byshopry-
kes, that they shulde bringe this thyng
to passe. So ỹ at the last, the moste parte
of the byshops consented to hym forfere
and labored all they coulde to perswade
the preestes to forsake theyr wyues, and
to vowe chastite. But it was longe ere the
preestes

who can re-
quire a bet-
ter answere
than these
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ON THE other syde

the

Prestes that hath not the gyfte of chastite

The deuyll sleepeth not nor sleueth not gladlye place to Christe

the archebyshop was ernestlye in settyng forth the popes cõmaundement. Than the prestes required to take their counsel and so whan they were departed out of the conuocation they agreed (seying that neyther scriptures reasons, counsels nor yet intercession couldе helpe as they sayde) that they wolde go in again and kyl that byshop, that all other byshops after hym shulde be well aduised ere they set forth that thinge any more. But the byshop had some frendes amõgest them the which reuelated this thig vnto him, and he streight ways sent certayne of his frendes vnto the prestes, requiring them to come in againe peaceably, and he wold promise them so to entreate the pope, that he shulde be content to let it passe and that they shulde kepe their cures stil as they had done before. Notwithstandinge the archbyshop coulde not chaunge the popes mind in any wise. For the yeare after ỹ pope sent downe his legate Cuttensen Episcopum and ioyned the byshop of mens, with him, commanndinge them to gather a conuocacion in Mens, and there to propounde his decre again, but yet the prestes wolde in no wise agree vnto ths but laide all scriptures, and reasons to them,

them that they coulde. And whan all these thinges wold not helpe than they fel to entreate, and intercession, But the popes legates were so stysse, that ther was no remedy, but tyranny, and violence to be vsed. But as sone as the prestes sawe that they gathered them together and made a tumulte, that the popes legates scaped verye hardely with their lyues oute of the conuocacion house, and so was the conuocacion broken. And the archebishop of Mens wold neuer medle more in it, but committed the matter to the popes discrecion, So that the pope was fayne to tary a conuenient time til he had gotten certayne byshops, and certayne prestes of his partey. Thede terminate time doth not the storyes declare but alonely we se that nowe he is preuayled in myschefe.

what they do against violence and tyranny.

¶ Wherfore I will nowe procede after my promyse and rehyte their scriptures and reasons, wherby they proue Celibatum sacerdotum. Their first scripture is. Be ye holy, for I am holy, saith the lorde. Upon this scripture disputeth the pope on this maner.

dist. xxviii.

The prestes of the olde lawe dyd not company with their wyues in the tyme of their myniſtracion. Wherfore the prestes

ſtes of the newe lawe which doth alwa-
yes miniſter muſe much more alwayes ke
pe their chaſtite. R. Fyrſte the pope doth
alege this ſcriptur wrenge. For it is not
Moyſes mynde where this terte is ſpo
ken to compel men from their wyues or
not to mary (the which thinge the Pope
hath taken vpō hym to prove) For Moy
ſes ſpeaketh therto the holle houſhold
of Iſrael. Nowe was not the houſe of I-
ſrael compelled by the texte eyther to
forſake their wyues or elles to vowe
chaſtite wherfore this text cānot make
for the popes purpoſe. Furthermore the
texte ſayth no more but that we ſhalde
be clen & holy. Now is not matrimony
eyther vnclene or vnholy for it is a thig
inſtituted and ſanctified of God. And
the pureſt creatures that euer god made
dyd vſe it and was not therby defoyled
Ergo this texte maketh not for the Po-
pes purpoſe. And where as the pope
ſayth that the preſtes of the newe lawe
ſhalbe clene we graunt the ſame and de-
ſyre God with all our heartes that they
may be ſo. And bicauſe that we woulde
it ſhulde be ſo. Therfore do we exhort
them to vſe gods holy ordinaunce that
they maye be holy. For all creatures of
God be good. And vnto them that be
clen

Solucios to their realōs.

Adam Eua

Tathe leuyty et clennea l- ſh to moch. the Popes heed.

1. Timo. iiii.

clene nothingis vnclean Nowe is Matrimony gods ordinaunce. Wherfore it must nedes be clen of it self & may be lawfully vsed with thankes. furthermore, what argument is thys of the Popes. The preestes of the olde law dyd abstaine from their wyues the tyme of their myniistration. Ergo, our preestes must alwayes abstayne. Nowe followeth this alwayes out of the olde preestes somtyme But me thinke the Pope shulde rather take an occasion of thys place to bynde his preestes to marriage yf they cannot lyue soole, for the preestes of the olde law by Gods commaundement had wyues. Ergo God wolde not reken mariage, vnclene & vnpure. And yf it were clene for thē it must much more be clener vnto our preestes. for al thinges be clenner vnto vs, than to them.

Always Nowe yt

Wherfore me thinke the pope should rather dispute on this maner. The preestes of the olde law had wyues and were not thereby defoyled. Ergo my preestes muste much rather haue wiues, for they shal be lesse defoyled.

Moreouer, it followeth not. The preestes of the olde lawe abstayned from their wyues in that tyme of their myniistration, Ergo oure preestes.

muste

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yes miniſter muſt much more alwayes ke
pe their chaſtite. R. Fyrſte the pope doth
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clen

Polacios to their zealōs.

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vnclene & vnpure. And yf it were clene
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our prestes. for al thinges be clennest vn
to vs, than to them.
Alwayes
Nowe ye

Wherfore me thinke the pope should ra
ther dispute on this maner. The preē=
stes of the olde law had wyues and were
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of the olde lawe abstayned from their
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muste

Preestes that hath vse the gyfte of chastite must abstaine alwayes bicause they be alwayes in ministration. For many thynges were vncleane to the preestes of the olde lawe, that be not vncleane vnto our preestes. Also vnto them it was a cõmaundement so to do or elles it had ben lawful for them to tary by their wyues.
But oure preestes hath no commaundement. Ergo, they are not bounde to abstayne,
Fynally, this texte of scripture byd not byde the apostols nor al the holy fathers after the postles tyl Innocẽtes tyme to abstayne from their wyues. Ergo, it byndeth not our preestes now. For gods worde was in as ful strẽgth before Innocentes days as after.

¶ The seconde scripture is thys. Abstayne for a tyme that ye maye the better gyue attẽdaunce to prayer. On this texte disputteth the pope on this maner Paule commaundeth (sayth he) layme to abstayne for a time. Ergo, moch more are preestes bounde to abstayne alwayes. The which must alwaies pray and be in a continual sacrifice. This argument is also false and not concluded after S. Paules myndr. For S. Paule wold not by this texte forbyd mariage, by the reason of prayer, For howe coulde he

saye

say than. Abstayne for a tym. Ma-
ried men muste abstayne alwayes and
not for a tyme only. For it is no comma
undemēt vnto lay mē (as ỳ pope saith)
to abstayne, For S. Paule wyll that they
shall not abstayne, excepte that they be
both agreed yea and also in a cause that
is where their abstayninge shuld be an
occasion of vnclennes. Or elles yt the
Wyfe they abstayninge may be the
occasion of more prayer.
one party wyll abstayne, and the other
can not. Than wyll bleue S. Paule that
neyther of them shall defraude that o-
ther. For they are more bounde in thys
cause to vse them selues in the office of
matrymonye, than pro tllo loco, et tem-
pore to praye. For the texte is clere.
Uxori vir debitū reddat. Let mē marke
my saying wel.
For thoughe we be bounde to praye by
the gospel yet I thynke that the circum-
stance of time and place is of mans law.
And redere debytum, in this cause of
the gospel. Wherefore the other muste
gyue place. Take my wordes charita-
bly, and after learning. But yet graunt
it a comaundement. How can it folowe
therout that preestes shal neuer marye,
bycause that lay men are bounde (as ỳ

pope

pope sayth to abstayne for a tyme. why doth not the pope rather bynde his prie stes in tyme and place requisite to ma trymony for auoyding of fornication as sayne Paule doth. All the worlde knowe eth that preestes doth not alwayes praye wherfore than dothe not the pope graste them that same libertie. that. i. Paule doth For he wyl (lest the deuyll shulde tempte them by incontinencie) that they shuld returne agayne after their prayer to the office of matrimony. Oh lord god how wolde men crye out agaynst me yf I shulde thus teare and wrynge scriptu res. But this popet may do what he list and all that he doth men do reckon to be artycles of our fayth. There is not a stronger place in al scripture for matri mony than this is. In so muche that al lerned men, that euer spake of this mat ter, hath brought this same chapiter of s. Paule for them: yet the deuyll in the Pope can turne this topse turuy. And y that maketh agaynst hym muste nedes make for hym or elles he wyl wring him tyl he breake his necke what scripture can proue this that preestes may not ma ry. bicause they are bounde to praye and to do sacrifice. Doth marryage before their prayers. or can contaminate their sacrifices

sacrifices, than the holy patriarches, & prophetes haue no clene sacrifices. yea Christes apostols had vnclene sacrifices But here is a wonderfull iugglynge of the deuyl For sometime matrymony shal be an holy, and a blessed sacrament and shal gyue grace. And an other whyle it shalbe agaynst God, and all his sacrifices and a destroyer of Gods mynysters & of al theyr prayers. Wherfore I cõclud that this texte of sayut Paule, Abstaine for a tyme, that you maye the more dilligently pray maketh nothynge for ỹ pope For yf we shul be bounde as the Pope sayth not to mary by the reason that we ought to pray than myght no lay man mary a wyfe. For lay men are as much bound by ỹ gospel to prayer as preestes be There is no tyme that the gospell commaundeth a preeste to praye in, nor yet no prayer that is commaunded to preestes by the gospell, but lay men are bounde to the same. Wherfore yf the Pope wyll conclude that preestes shall haue no wyues bicause they are bounde to pray.

Lay men as bounde to prayer as wel as preestes

By the same reason wyll I proue that no christen man may haue a wyfe For it wyll not helpe to saye that

preestes

prestes are more bound to pray, than lay men/and therfore they may haue no wyues. For whether ꝑ they be bounde lesse, or more, that maketh no matter to the argument. For bot he the perties are bounde to prayer. Ergo, after the popes doctrine, neyther of thē both may marry. But whether ꝑ one be more bounde tha the other, it maketh no matter to me, for they are both bounde, Ergo, they must bothe abstayne. I wolde desyre all the papistes, to let this reason of myne stāde stil vnassoyled.

¶ Another reason there is of Pope Leo the. ix. that bryngeth this text of s. paul Haue not we power to leade about with vs a wyfe, as the brother of our lorde & cephas. Out of this text disputeth ꝑ pope thus Saynt Paule sayth not, we haue power amplectendi mulierem, to embrace a woman. But circunducendi, that is, to leade her with vs, that she may be sustained (as the Pope layth) of her husband.

But here may be no company of marige betwen them. Decille

R. Euery christen man may se what a slender argument this is of the pope. Saynt Paule sayth not, amplectendi sed circumducendi. Ergo, non licet sacerdotibus habere vxores, This can no man deny

dent but ſ Paules meanyng is there how that Preeſtes may laufully haue wyues as the exampl of Peter doth there proue wherfore I thinke no man ſo madde to iudge that th apoſtoles dyd mari wyues alonely to leade them aboute with them as the pope ſaythe and to put other men to coſtes and charges,

For this office they myght haue had of all other women and neded not to mary for leadyng about of women with them Wherfore it muſte nedes folowe ſeynge ſayut Paules meanyng is that Preeſtes may laufully haue wyues, that they may alſo laufully vſe thoffice of matri= mony and that thinge that belongeth to matrimony.

For his owne doctrine is That the man hath not power ouer his owne body, but his wyfe, Wherfore it muſte folowe ꝑ ꝑ pope makeeth a vyuel ſuppoſition when he ſuppoſeth that the apoſtoles had wy ues and dyd onely but cary them about to gyue them meate and drynke and not to company with them

Alſo marke of this argument howe the pope graſſeth th at the apoſtoles hade wyues wherfore he muſt nowe proue ꝑ the apoſtoles forſoke the company of their wyues, as he ſayth But I am con

ten

ent to take this argument at the popes hande. This the pope graunteth that ye apostoles ledde their wiues about with them wherfore it muste nedes folowe euē after the pope) that our prestes may also leade wyues about with thē, yf ye wyl graunte me this I am contente, I wyl not bynde prestes amplectendi vxores, I wil put it to his wyues discretiō and his as they twayne can agree so am I contēt alonely let them haue the libertie that the pope graunteth the holy apostoles to haue had, And I doubt not but there wyl folow take as only of circumducendi, but of amplectendi. Truly I haue great maruaile that men be not ashamed, thus to tryfle wyth holy scripture, yea and that in matters that be of so weyghtye and wherby they se daylye so great offence and slaunder to sprynge in the holy church of god.

¶ Another scripture the pope hath whiche is thys. They that are in the flesshe can not please god. On this texte disputeth the pope thus. They that are defoyled are in the flesh.

But prestes that mary wyues are defoyled. Ergo they be in the flesshe and cannot please god. R. yf men hadde eyther feare of god in their hertes or elles reue

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resiste
ere of āple
edfyl chil
en that be
hat be got
n myghte
eare wyr-
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oist lxxxiii
popolusti

rence to gods holy institutions and ordi-
naunces they wold not thus speake nor
iuoge of pure and cleane matrimony, I
truste there is no christē man but he wyl
graūt me that matrymonye is of Gods
ordeyning and setting wherfore it must
nedes be pure and cleane, for our God is
no god of vnclennes, or of fylthynes let
the pope iudge hym as he wyl. Nowe
to the popes argument. The pope saith
in his mynor how prestes that mary be
vncleane I denye that and say stedfast-
ly that the pope blaspyemeth both god
and his holy gifres. And whan he can
proue his mynor true, than wyl I graūt
it vnlawfull for prestes to mary. But I
wyl take the popes argumēt, and proue
that no man shal haue wiues and so shal
the worlde sone be at an ende. The popes
maior is this. They that be in the flesh
cannot please God. But maried men (as
the pope thinketh) lyue after the flesshe,
Ergo, no maryed man can be saued. Let
the popet of Rome and al his adhereu
tes aunswere to my argument, & I wyll
sone answere to theirs
For this I am sure of that the scripturs
which he bringeth, maketh not against
matrimony, nor,

yet

yet more agaynst preestes than agaynst lay men.

Wherfore let hym conclude what he can but of them agaynste preestes and I wyll conclude the same agaynst lay men,

men y' haue doynes may be prestes but after theyr prayst od thei mai not marye.

These be all the scriptures that I can fynd i the Popes lawe against this matter wherfore nowe wyll I go to theyr reasons.

¶ Theyr principal reason is this . Lay ryed men may be chosen to be preestes, but after theyr preesthod say they. may they not mary, R. These men must fyrst consydre what doctrine they defende, that is to saye howe they intende to defende the Popes doctrine and that doctrine whiche they call the doctrine of

di xxviii, c terea & cap. primlquam

churche for there is none other doctrine agaynst vs but that. Nowe dothe this doctrine clerely determe agaynst them, & say how noman that hath a wyfe maye be chosen to be a preest or a deacon nor they can bryng me none ecample that euer the pope dyd graunt that a maryed man myght be a preest except he got money for dispensyng

remembre y tyrannye of Greg the vii whiche compelled preestes to forsake their wyues.

So that the Pope by his dispensation hath alwayes testified that it was agaynst his lawe for a maryed man to be a preest. Wherfore these men yt they wyl

defend

defend the lawes of the churche muste
be bounde to proue þ maryed men may
after the lawes of the churche as they
cal them be chosen or elles they? answer
is nought
For it is no reasō that they shuld layne
this solucion of their owne brayne and
saye, that it maye be so, But they muste
proue me, that their church doth graunte
it laufull so to be, Moreouer, where be
nowe al their scriptures, wherby they
proue that preestes maye not marye for
defoylyng of them. Is not the companye
that a preest hepeth with his wyfe after
his consecration (which they graunt) as
pure and as clene, as it was afore his cō
secration hath his consecartion made þ
thig vnclene that was before pure wher
fore yf he maye kepe his wyfe / after the
se men) which be maryed afore his con
secration why maye not another preeste
likewyse mary a wife after his presthod
what doth this man as concerninge thof
tyte of marrymonye that thother man
doth not.
Furthermore they wer wont to say that
preestes myght not kepe their wyues in
remembrance that they fained how the holy
apostles dyd forsake their wyues howe
standeth this with their solucion that
maryed

maryed men myghte be byshoppes bu
me thinke they do but tryfle with thi
matter, and seke no moze but a lyght eu
sion to helpe them for a tyme.
Moreouer both the practise, and the l
wes of theyr churche declareth clerely
that theyr meauyng is not to chose a ma
ryed man to be a byshop. For theyr cust
ome is that a man may be subdeacon at
xvi. yeres olde. Nowe is there no man
customably maryed so yonge. And whe
he shall be subdeacon he must forswere
maryage, as the popes lawe commaun
deth. Ergo, it must nedes folowe that no
maryed man can be a preest. For he hath
forswore maryage many yeres before.
Moreouer, al doctours do graunte, that
after the fal of Adame, matrymony was
a remedy agaynst fornication, and s.
Paul approueth the same. Unusquisque
ius habet uxorem propter fornicatio
what yf this man, after his consecratio
is in more ieoperdie of fornication than
he was before. what remedy wyll men
fynde now for this infirmite His conse
cration taketh not away his naturall
appetite, nor it maketh Gods remedye
vnlauefull, And eyther he must lyue in
fornication, or elles mary a wyfe. Let me
iudge, whiche of them becommeth a

preeste

preeste belte after his consecration.

¶ Furthermore no man can denye, but the histories make mencion, howe diuerse preestes haue ben maryed after their consecration, at the dispensacion of the pope, wherfore it mune folowe, that it is not agaynst Gods lawe, for a preeste to mary after his consecration. For thā the pope myghte not dispense with hym. mē must graunt, that many preestes haue had wyues. Nowe standeth it with good reason, & lernynge, that they proue that all theese men dyd mary before their preesthode onely, and not after, seinge they wyl haue it so necessary, and so perfecte a solemnitie. And yf they can not proue it, why do they affirm it so stykly, what moueth them so to saye yea, and so boldely. But yet I wyll be content, let the matter be indifferently handled, & let as many maryed men be chosen to be byshops, as vnmaried, seinge they graunt it lawfull.

And than am I sure that we shal auoid a great heape of fornications that ben now vsed. yea I feare me that our chaste men shal lone be quite of al and the maried men shal haue al.

¶ Another reason they

haue

haue, and that is this.

Preestes may extinguish brennynge hea
te that is in them by fastinge labouring
watchyng prayinge and by other good
workes doing and if they do thus no dou
bte but God wil gyue them the gyfte of
chastite for he is liberal in giuing and
merciful in hearing of their prayers er
go they nede not to mary. Fyrst I desire
to knowe of those men yt they wil saye
of their conscience that the thyrde part
of preestes in England do kepe theyr
chastite i thinke they will rather swere
nay than yea.

Nowe come to their argumente, and se
how shamefully they do repreue preestes
I durst not speake so much against, the
as these men do, for fyrst they saye that
yf preestes dyd praye or fast or dyd like
good workes than god would yea he must
of his liberalyte and mercye gyue them
the gifte of chastite Secondly they graunt
that the thyrde deale of preestes kepe not
theyr vowe. Now is this as much to saye
thinketh me, fyrst that preestes be naught
in dede. Secondarily that they neither
will nor yet desire to better for if they did
desire it of God he wolde giue it the saye
they. In bymis no fault ergo the fault
is in the preestes that neyther be good in

dede

dede, nor yet wyll pray nor desire to be good. I wolde not gladly haue such pa trons in my cale. Moreouer I graunte that preestes shal faste and pray, to kepe their bodies lowe, But nowe to them. Why shal not preestes also mary to auoid fornicacion, as wel as fast, and pray seyinge that God hath ordeyned matrimony for a peculier, & singler remedy against fornicacion. I do not condempne true fastinge and prayeng, why do they the condempne maryinge, seyinge the God which ordeyned fastinge and prayinge hath also ordeyned mariyng. yea and me thynke yf any one thing shulde be first proued, than shulde mariage be first pro ued seinge that it is deputed of God for a propre, and spedy remedy againste for nicacion. Notwithstanding I wylbe co tent fyrste to exhorte al preestes, both to prayinge, and fastiug, and y f they can so kepe their castite, I wyll thanke God with them. But y f they cannot than wyll I in newyse that they shal be compelled eyther by lawe or by vowe to the castite, For that is agaynst gods worde and the doctrine of his holy apostoles. But yet let me touch their ground neuer I wold desire them to tel me and to preuc vnto me by learning that God is bounde in

asmuch

Dreesses Sat hath not the gyfte of chastite
asmoche as he is liberal & mercyfull to
graunte vnto them the grace of chastite
for their prayng and fastyng It is not y
nough for them thus to say seinge that
manye good men hath both prayed and
fasted and yet had not the gyfte of cha-
stite. But they muste bringe me an open
scripture wherin that this promyse is
made vnto their fastinge and watchinge
or els they must graunt ꝓ they be bound
to vse Gods remedies whiche he hath
ordeyned and instituted to the helpyng
of our infirmite. If I were hungry and
thurstye and wolde go and praye to God
to slake my hunger and thurste and
wolde not vse those meanes and reme-
dyes that God hath ordeyned, thynke
you that god were beunde of his lyber-
lyte to graunt me my requeste. Naye for
soth. But it were rather to be iudged ꝓ
I were a tempter of God and a dispiser
of his holy ordinaunce and wold not be
content wyth those remedies that God
hath appointed. ath. fiii:

¶ The deuyl commeth wyth lyke temp-
tacion to oure M. Christe and requyreth
hym to the behoulde of god to do a my-
racle to leape downe from the bighest of
the temple yf he wolde be taken for the
sonne of god and as for harme he coulde

haue

haue none. For the scripture testifieth (saith he) that god had commaūded his aungels to beare the vp in their armes/ wherfore (sayeth the deuyll) it shalbe a great honour to god and also a great declaracion to thy power yf thou descēde from the height of the temple otherwyse than any other man can do. And yf þ goost downe by þ steyers god shal nomore beglorified in thy facte than in other mens nor thou shalte nothe taken for the man, that thou art and woldest be.

Moreouer/ thou nedeste not doubte, but god wil helpe the. For the scripture speaketh of the which can not be false. Notwithstādig al this our M. Christ calleth it temptyng of God whā men wyl seke vnto hym for ther remedies than he hath appoynted. And therfore our M. Christ doth clerely declare that the same scripture whiche the deuyl bryngeth for hym maketh not for his purpose. For thoughe that god hath promise to helpe Christ and all hys yet wyll he be glorified in his creatures, & wyl that we shal vse them with thankes to the intente & purpose that he hath ordeyned them for. And than yf there be anything lacking vnto our helth and saluacion, he wyl that we shal bothe pray-

and

Priestes that hath not the gyfte of chastite
and trust in him. With what boldenes
can I desyre of God to helpe me & am
not content to receyue hys creatures, þ
he hath institute to helpe me wherby
shal god helpe me yf I dispise his ord
naunces and creatures that he hath al
ready ordeyned to my helpinge Is it rea
son that god at my instaunce, shal make
a newe ordinaunce, and newe remedies
for my diseases why am I not contente
if I wyl be helped at gods hande wyth
those remedies, that be already institute
It was but a smal thing and by ie thing
in a maner, for Christ to descende by þ step-
pers frō the heyght of the temple, seing
that the deuyll required hym by gods
honoure and also by his owne to shewe
some speciall power.
yf I were diseased, & sycke, & wold not vse
the counsell of the phisicions nor of o-
ther medicines that god hath institu-
ted, but by fast and pray & watche, and
do almes deds thynke you that men
wold recke me wyse. & yf I dyd thus by
were not I a dispiser of gods of his good
ordinaunces God hath appoynted phisi
cions & gyuen vertue to herbes & other
creatures to helpe my disease wherfore
I am bounde with mekenes and with
thankes to receyue them and to praye to

god thaun
ceth not his
ordre for
extremitie

God that he wyl fortify and strengthe the natures of these creatures and that they may haue vertue and efficacie in me

This is a christen man bounde to do for if this reason of these men shal haue strengthe than wyl we vse no maner of creatures or remedies that god hath ordeined but agaynst hungre and thurste, heate & colde agues, and pestilences pouertie, & necessities swardes and gonnes. Summa cumarum agaynste all maner of dyseases, agaynste all maner of myseries wyll we vse not hynge but alonely praye or faste or els gyue almes as we shal thynke beste. So that we wyl teach God what thynge is best to be helping of al imperfections I thanke you good maysters for your good doctrine I pray God rewarde you finally I haue great meruayle why that prayer and fastynge shall alonely get preestes to the gyfte of chastite. & not al other men And yf other men may haue the gyft of chastite throughe their prayer why be not all me moued to lyue chaste seynge that chastite is in very dede a hyghet state than matrymony is why ben preestes more bound to pray for ꝑ gyfte of chastite than other christen men be now marke this doctrine yf a lym of the deuel wold come now preache vniuersally to al me ye excellenc

god hath ordeined certeyn thinge to a purpose, & therfore they be vse

preestes haue a priuileg afore other me

of chastite and to shew what a great quiet lyuing it is and what a pleasaūt state it is before god. And cōtrary wyse of ma
The flesshe would gladly haue a quyet lyuinge & pleasaunt
riage would say that it were a sorowfull state ful of troubles full of cares full of heuines and as the Pope sayth a fleshely and a carnall state, and that semeth to haue in itself an vncleānes. & by these resons, and persuasiōs, with many mo that he myghte, bringe, wolde exhorte all maner of men in Englaūde to lyue soole, and vnmaryed, And wold also teache them to pray, & to faste for the gyfte of chastite, and not to doubte, but that God of his liberalite wolde gyue it thē I wolde faine knowe of lerned men, yf this man were Gods frende. and the kynges. howe moche he is Gods, I will not dispute. But I am sure there could not be a greatter traytour to the kynges grace than he is. For yf he myghte bring to passe ꝑ he intendeth by his doctrine. Fyrste, he shulde destroy the kinges succession. Secondarily, he shulde within this seuen yeres, make that kyng a lord of as we subiectes or none. and finally, of none in dede. And al this wolde they do by fastynge and prayinge. But what thing soeuer they tel vs of their fastig and praying I am sure that they fall to

gee-

gytting of chyldren as sone as suche ther men and als with fastinge & prayinge. Alas what thinge can not ꝑ deuil mysuse But let no man take me as ꝓ ugh I condempned fastyng and prayig For: surely I woulde that they shulde be vsed & that diligently But I wold haue them vsed in tyme & place conuenient & for the intente & purpose that god hath ordeined thē but yet i wold not ꝑ other remedies and gyftes of god shulde be thought vnlawful and also be dispysed for them. ¶ Now most gracyouse prince her haue i shewed vnto your grace fyrst myne obedience wyllyng that euery man shulde both learne and so do. Secondarly I haue shewed my lettinge in certayne articles for the which there is a variaunce in the worlde at this daye, protestatinge vnto your grace that I haue saide nothinge but I trust be true & agreable vnto gods holy worde & ꝑ lernig of the olde doctours. Notwithstandig yf there be any man within your realme that can proue by good learning the contrary (so that youre grace shall alowe it to agree with gods worde & to be sufficient before gods dredful iudgemente) I shal be content to submit my self to your graces determinacion. And to do that thing ꝑ becommeth a christen man & a

had ꝑ worlde continued they would make vs poore men beleue that they had gotten children with fasting and prayng

[illegible] to dye. Thus [illegible] lorde
Iesus Christ the purchacer of
all grace and goodnes geue the
lerne youre grace in al ver-
tue and honoure.
A M E N.

Imprinted at London in
Poules churchyard at
the signe of S.
Augustyne
by Hugh
Syngelton

G.R. III.
BR. MUS.

Cum preuilegio, ad imprimendum solum

